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THE JOURNAL OF
Egyptian
Archaeology

VOLUME 28
DECEMBER 1942

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W. 1

Price to non-members 50s. or \$10.00

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TUTANKHAMUN'S IRON DAGGER

THE JOURNAL OF Egyptian Archaeology

40583

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913.3205
J.E.A.

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W. 1

1942

PRINTED IN
GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
OXFORD
BY
JOHN JOHNSON
PRINTER
TO THE
UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSAL ARCHITECTURE
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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE exigencies of the times, and the need to husband the nation's paper supplies, have compelled us to reduce this volume to half the size of its predecessor and consequently to make certain changes in our usual arrangements. Thus the present page replaces Notes and News, and the Indexes are postponed to a later date. The past year has brought us three very grievous losses, the deaths of Mr. N. de G. Davies, of Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury, and of Prof. Reisner. Memoirs of the first-named will be found further on, and we need now say no more than that we mourn in them the loss of two of our most accomplished and valued collaborators, besides two very lovable personalities. Only at the last minute has news reached us of the passing of the great Harvard excavator Prof. G. Reisner; lack of space makes it impossible to dwell further on this irreparable disaster, which many, like the present writer, will deplore as much on personal as on scientific grounds.

The frontispiece with which we again seek to compensate in some measure for deficiencies due to the War reproduces the beautiful facsimile made by Mrs. Brunton of the iron dagger of Tutankhamūn—the counterpart of the gold dagger depicted in Vol. XXVII. But little need be added to Dr. Carter's own printed description.¹ The steel-like blade and the knob of rock crystal are the most conspicuous of the materials used; the cloisonné work employs green felspar and lapis lazuli, besides red and yellow glass.

The inaccessibility of Museum objects and the absence of pictures from new excavations make it difficult for us to provide plates that will appeal to the lover of Egyptian Art, but the collotype (opposite p. 38) showing the Celestial Cow from the tomb of Sethos I at Thebes well illustrates both an exceptionally fine ancient relief and also the consummate draughtsmanship of the late Howard Carter. It was intended to accompany this with a new translation of, and commentary on, the famous mythological text to which it serves as vignette, but at the last moment it was learnt that a young Swiss Egyptologist² has recently issued a new edition of the text and himself projects a new rendering. It would be unfair to anticipate his work, to which students will look forward eagerly.

Further items of news. It is with the utmost joy that we learn that the report of the death of M. Golénischeff was a mistake, and that he is living and in good health at Nice. Of much interest also is the information received about the theft from the Cairo Museum and the subsequent recovery of all the gold objects from the tomb of Psusennes discovered by M. Montet not so long ago at Tanis. Comment is best withheld until the facts are better known.

¹ *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, II, 134-5; see too pls. 87, B; 88, C.

² Ch. Maystre, *Le Livre de la vache du ciel dans les tombeaux de la vallée des rois* in *Bull. de l'Inst. fr. d'archéol. orient.* XL, 53-115. Interesting comments on this vignette, H. Schäfer, *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst*, pp. 119-22.

THE BATTLE OF MEGIDDO

By R. O. FAULKNER

THE Battle of Megiddo, fought between the Egyptians led by King Tuthmosis III and the Syrian Confederacy headed by the ruler of Kadesh, is the first military campaign in history of which any kind of detailed account has survived. It was the custom in the Egyptian armies of the Empire to keep a regular diary of the course of a campaign, a task which was entrusted to the *imy-r šš mšr* 'chief military scribe';¹ copies of these diaries were deposited in the archives of the temple of Amen-Rē at Thebes,² and Tuthmosis III caused extracts from the records of his campaigns to be inscribed on the temple walls. In the case of his first victory, that of Megiddo, more details were given than with his later wars, so that the course of the campaign can be discerned more clearly than usual. The general outline of events is very well known, but the only detailed discussion of the subject is Dr. Nelson's admirable thesis *The Battle of Megiddo*; he was fortunate enough to be able to travel over and study the actual battle-field, and the excellent sketch-maps with which he illustrates his work are indispensable to the student. If, therefore, I venture to return to this topic again, it is not because of any difference of opinion on topographical questions, but because a study of the hieroglyphic text³ has led to somewhat different conclusions on various points regarding the operations.

It will suffice to summarize briefly the opening moves of the campaign. Leaving the frontier fortress of Tjel on the 25th day of the 4th month of the Winter season in year 22,⁴ the Egyptian army covered the 125 miles to Gaza in 10 days,⁵ arriving on the 4th day of the 1st month of Summer in year 23.⁶ That shows an average daily march of 12½ miles, which is fair travelling over mostly desert roads for a force containing a considerable proportion of infantry, as was undoubtedly the case. Tuthmosis lay but one night in Gaza, and then set out for Yeḥem (probably modern Yemma),⁷ some 80 miles or so distant. We are not told the date of arrival there, but assuming the same rate of march as before, it will have been on the 11th of the month.⁸ Here the army apparently

¹ Helck, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, 14.

² *Urk.* iv, 662, 5.

³ *Op. cit.*, 647 ff.

⁴ According to Nelson, *Megiddo*, 6, this date corresponds to 19th April, 1479 B.C.

⁵ Not 9 days as Nelson (*op. cit.*, 31, n. 66) says; both the 25th and the 4th must be included in the marching days.

⁶ The change in the year-number is due to the fact that Tuthmosis arrived at Gaza on the anniversary of his accession, i.e. on the first day of a new regnal year.

⁷ Nelson, *op. cit.*, 7. I accept his topographical identifications throughout.

⁸ Nelson, *op. cit.*, 6, makes Tuthmosis reach Yeḥem on the 16th, the day of the council of war, but it is highly improbable that he would have lingered for twelve days on a journey which he could complete in seven; nor is it likely that a council of such importance would have been held until information had been gathered as to the dispositions of the enemy. Actually the date of arrival at Yeḥem is not stated in the Egyptian text, but it seems reasonable to assume that Tuthmosis maintained his original rate of advance and arrived at Yeḥem on the 11th; his troops would then get a rest after 17 days' continuous marching, while he sent out his spies to gather intelligence of the enemy.

halted for a few days to rest while scouting operations were in progress, for on the 16th there was held a council of war to decide the best route for the advance on Megiddo. At this point we will let the Egyptian annalist take up the narrative.¹

Year 23, 1st month of Summer, day 16, at the town of Yeḫem. [His Majesty] ordered a consultation with his victorious army, saying thus: 'Yon [wretched] foe of Kadesh has come and entered into Megiddo, and he is [there] at this moment, for he has gathered to himself the chieftains of [all] the countries [which were] subject to Egypt, and (from) as far away as Naharin . . . Syrians, Kode-folk, their horses, their soldiers, [and their people],^a for he says—so it is reported—"I will stand to [fight with His Majesty here] in Megiddo". Tell ye me [what is in your hearts].'

And they said unto His Majesty: 'How can one go [upon] this road which is so narrow?^b It [is reported] that the enemy are standing yonder [outside, and that they have] become numerous;^c will not horse have to go behind [horse, and the soldiers] and the people^d likewise? Shall our vanguard be fighting while the [rearguard] is standing yonder^e in 'Aruna unable to fight? Now here are two roads; behold, one road is . . . our [lord],^f and he will come out at Taanach; and behold, the other is at the north side of Djefti, and we will come out at the north of Megiddo. Let our victorious lord proceed upon whichever of [them] seems best to him; but do not let us go upon yon difficult road.'

Then [there were brought in (?)]^g dispatches [concerning yon wretched foe, and there was further discussion (?)]^h on the subject of [that] plan of which they had previously spoken. What was said in the royal tent:ⁱ '[As] I [live], as Rē^c loves me, as my father Amūn favours me, as my nostrils are refreshed with life and strength, I will proceed on this 'Aruna road. Let him of you who so desires go on these roads of which ye speak, and let him of you who so desires come in the train of My Majesty, for behold, they will say,ⁱ namely the foes whom Rē^c detests, "Has His Majesty gone^j upon another road because he is afraid of us?" they will say'. And they said unto His Majesty: 'May thy father Amūn, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, who dwells in Karnak,^k perform [thy desire]! Lo, we are in the train of Thy Majesty wheresoever [Thy Majesty] goest, for a servant ever follows [his] master.'

[And His Majesty caused a proclamation to be made]^l to the whole army: '[Your victorious lord will lead your marches upon (?)]^l yon road which is so narrow'. [And behold, His Majesty swore]^l an oath, saying: 'I will not [permit my victorious army (?)] to go forth in front of My Majesty [in this place', for His Majesty desired (?)]^l to go forth in person in front of his army. And [every man] was instructed as to his order of march,^m horse following after horse, while [His Majesty] was at the head of his army.

Year 23, 1st month of Summer, day 19, One awoke in the royal tent at the town of 'Aruna.ⁿ My Majesty proceeded northward^o under my father Amen-Rē^c, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,^p [that he might open the ways] before me, Ḥarakhti . . .,^q my father Amūn strengthening [My Majesty's] arm, and . . .^q over My Majesty.

[His] Majesty went forth^r [at the head of] his [army], which was org[anized] into many battalions . . . one;^r [their] southern wing was at Taanach, [while their] northern wing was at the south[ern] bend [of the valley of Kīna (?).^r And] His Majesty called out^s upon [this road (?)] . . . they fell, while yon [wretched] foe . . .^s [Praise (?)] ye [him and extol the might of (?)]^s His Majesty, because his arm is stronger than (that of) [any king]^s . . . His Majesty's army^s in 'Aruna. Now while the rearguard of His Majesty's victorious army was (yet) in the town of 'Aruna, the vanguard had come out at the valley of Kīna, and they filled the mouth of this valley.

Then said they unto His Majesty: 'Behold, His Majesty has come forth with his victorious army and they have filled the valley; let our victorious lord hearken unto us this once, and let our lord guard for us the rear of his army and his people. When the rear of the army comes out to us, then

¹ *Urk.* iv, 649 ff. = ll. 18 ff., of the original inscription.

will we fight against these foreigners, then shall we not have to worry about the rear of our army'. And His Majesty took post outside . . . guarding the rear of his victorious army.² Now when the [leading] detachments had finished coming forth upon this road,^{aa} the shadow turned.

His Majesty arrived at the south of Megiddo on the bank of the brook Kina in seven hours from the turning in the sun.^{bb} Camp was pitched there for His Majesty, and an order was given to the whole army, sa[y]ing: 'Prepare ye, make ready your weapons, for One will engage with yon wretched foe in the morning, because One is. . .'. One went to rest^{cc} in the royal camp. The officers were provided for, rations were released (?) to the retainers,^{dd} and the sentries of the army were posted,^{ee} having been told: 'Be steadfast and vigilant.'^{ff}

One woke in the royal tent, and they came to tell His Majesty: 'The coast is clear, and the southern and northern troops (are safe) also.'^{gg}

Year 23, 1st month of Summer, day 21 (*sic*),^{hh} the exact ⁱⁱ day of the festival of the New Moon, the King appeared in the morning. The entire army was ordered to deploy (?) . . .^{jj} and His Majesty set forth in a chariot of fine gold, being adorned with his panoply of war like Horus the Strong-armed, Lord of Action, and like Mont of Thebes, his father Amūn strengthening his hands. The southern wing of His Majesty's army was at a hill south of . . . Kina, and the northern wing was on the north-west of Megiddo. And His Majesty was in the midst of them, Amūn guarding his person <in> the mellay^{kk} and the strength [of Seth pervading] his members. And His Majesty prevailed indeed^{ll} at the head of his army. And they saw His Majesty prevailing,^{mm} and they fled headlong [towards] Megiddo with frightened faces. They abandoned their horses and their chariots of gold and silver, that they might be dragged up into this city by their garments,ⁿⁿ for the people had shut up this city against them, [but lowered] garments to hoist them up into this city. Would that^{oo} His Majesty's soldiers had not devoted themselves to looting the goods of the foe! They would have [captured] Megiddo then and there while the wretched foe of Kadesh and the wretched foe of this city were being dragged up scrambling (?)^{pp} to get them into their city, for fear of His Majesty entered [into their bodies] and their arms were weakened, his uraeus having overpowered them. And their horses and their chariots of gold and silver were captured as easy [prey], their ranks lay prostrate like fish in the bight of a net,^{qq} and His Majesty's victorious army counted up their goods, for there was captured the tent of [yon] wretched [foe], which was wrou[ght with silver].^{rr} . . . And the whole army fell to rejoicing and giving praise to Amūn [because of the victory] which he had vouchsafed to his son [this day. And they gave praise] to His Majesty, extolling his victory, and they brought the booty which they had taken, even hands, prisoners, horses, chariots of gold and silver, and [fine linen].^{ss}

NOTES

a. For the restoration [*rmṯ.sn*] see note d.

b. As Nelson has seen, the 'Aruna project evidently had been mooted at an earlier council or at least had been discussed informally, for the mode of reference here assumes previous knowledge of the topic. Nelson's 'narrower' seems to be due to a misunderstanding of the expression *wṯ r ḥns*, lit. 'fallen into narrowness'; he has apparently taken the *r* as representing the comparative.

c. Accepting Sethe's restoration, see Nelson, op. cit., 21, n. 43. *Wṯ r ḥṣ* should be translated 'have become numerous' rather than 'are becoming'; *wṯ* here is old perfective. The reference is presumably to the marshalling of the Syrian northern wing in the Kina valley, see below.

d. *Rmṯ*, as distinct from *mṣr*, doubtless refers to the transport drivers and other camp-followers; for the contrast of these two words, confirming Sethe's restoration of [*mṣr*]

here, see *Urk.* iv, 654-5 = l. 77 of the original text. The same evidence confirms his restoration of [rmt·sn] above, see note a.

e. The translation of $\overline{\text{m}}\text{t}\text{·sn}$ in this instance as 'there', 'yonder', rather than as 'here', is unavoidable in English, as 'here' at the moment of speaking was Yehem. To the Egyptians the word probably signified simply that the rearguard would still be on the near side of the front; Nelson's 'is yet standing in Aruna' evades the difficulty by ignoring $\overline{\text{m}}\text{t}\text{·sn}$. On the other hand, in the following sentence r-ntt mtn 2 r the word is better rendered with its normal translation 'here'; the road 'north of Djefti' was that leading north through Yehem itself, while the fork for the Taanach road was but three miles from Yehem, see Map I.

f. Sethe's restoration [mnh n nb]·n is certainly wrong, see Nelson, op. cit., 21, n. 44, and it has been ignored here, apart from [nb]·n 'our lord', which receives some confirmation from the suffix in the following pr·f; the next sentence suggests that an indication of place may have stood in the lacuna. That the suffix in pr·f does indeed refer to the king and not to the road as Nelson takes it is shown by pr·sn 'we will come out' below.

g. Sethe's restorations are probably fairly correct in sense, if not in detail. Nelson's '[Then was reported the information?] concerning [this] matter which they had mentioned before' (op. cit., 22) does not quite meet the case; there would have been no previous discussion without some information. The dispatches which had presumably just arrived must have contained further information, for Tuthmosis now finally decided for the 'Aruna route in a somewhat heated speech which has become almost a classic. Unfortunately the content of these dispatches is not made known to us.

h. Lit. 'in the Majesty of the Palace'.

i. Reading mk k·sn, 'Behold, they will say', with assimilation of successive k's. Nelson reads m dt k·sn and translates 'do not let them think', but one would then expect k· to have the determinative 𓂏 , and the second k·sn, following the speech, certainly means 'they will say', cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 436, and on the verbal nature of k· in this expression see *JEA* xxi, 188; for the future construction mk sdm·f see Gardiner, op. cit., § 234. For k·sn 'they will say' to precede the speech to be quoted is unusual, but it is clearly intended to reinforce the k·sn which appears in its normal place after the quotation, and for the use with m 'namely' compare i·n·f m 'so said he, namely . . .' for past time, *JEA* xxi, 185.

j. Better translated thus rather than as Nelson's 'Does His Majesty proceed'; wd· is old perfective. The following tw·f w· r snḏ n·n is probably to be taken as an adverbial clause.

k. So restored in Dyn. XIX, probably incorrectly, as the scribe of this text regularly uses simple 'Amūn' without epithet; it would therefore appear that more than just the name of the god was erased, and the restoration of the rest of the sentence is far from certain.

l. These restorations may convey an approximately correct sense, but their details are quite uncertain; Sethe's nhm (*Urk.* iv, 652, 3) is particularly doubtful.

m. Lit. 'his movements of going'. Nelson's 'assigned his position' does not quite convey the sense required; we are dealing here not with a deployment into line of battle but with the arrangements for marching.

n. The distance from Yehem to 'Aruna was about 13 miles, one fair day's march. Since the council of war was held on the 16th, the 17th was doubtless occupied with making preparations and issuing instructions for the passage through the hills, while the 18th will have been devoted to the march on 'Aruna, which was left on the 19th. As Nelson has seen, 'Aruna must have lain well into the hills, for on the march from Yehem already 'horse behind horse' was the order. Obviously Tuthmosis would not delay more than one night at 'Aruna, where, according to Nelson, there was good camping ground, but where the presence of the Egyptian army might at any time be detected by enemy patrols working over the surrounding hills.

The correct translation of *rs m [cnh]* (for the restoration cf. *Urk.* iv, 656, 13 = l. 84 of the original) is a difficult problem. Nelson, in common with previous commentators, regards this expression as referring to the posting of the royal bodyguard at the king's tent when he retired to rest, and this view can at first sight be supported by the passage from Ramesses II's account of the Kadesh campaign which is discussed below. On the other hand, a better sense can be obtained by interpreting *rs m cnh* here and below, l. 84, as 'awoke', and there is some evidence in support of this rendering. In the first place, not only may *rs m cnh* be compared with *rs m htp* 'awake in peace' of the well-known morning hymn, but it has an exact counterpart in *htp m cnh* 'go to rest', used so often in religious texts of the setting sun. Secondly, the fact that in the present passage it is immediately preceded by a date (the 19th) points to *rs m cnh* being the first event of the day, and it seems impossible to separate these words from what follows; no unbiased reader would do otherwise than place Tuthmosis' march from 'Aruna on the 19th, the date which heads the paragraph, even though, as we shall see below (note *hh*), this involves us in a difficulty regarding the date of the actual battle. Thirdly, in l. 84 it seems clear that *rs m cnh* refers to the awakening of Tuthmosis to receive a report on the situation (see note *gg*); it is an event well subsequent to *htp* 'go to rest' at the beginning of the line, and immediately before it we see the order to the sentries 'be watchful' written with the compound $\text{𓂏𓂛} \text{ } rs\text{-}tp$, which we should therefore have expected in the present instance also if it had been intended to mention the guard round the royal tent.

Against these arguments it might be urged that $\text{𓂏𓂛} \text{ } rs\text{-}tp$ (Kuentz, *Qadech*, 329) can only be translated 'a good watch in H.M.'s tent on the southern ridge of Kadesh' on account of the following *m-ht nn hr tr n dwryt hrt hm:f* 'After this, at time of morning, H.M. arose . . .', which points to *rs nfr* being an event of the night before. But here too it follows directly on a date and a description of the circumstances, as if it were the first event of the day; as a matter of common practice it is more usual under a given date in a diary or chronicle to enter the first act of the new day rather than the last of the night before, and *rs* in all the examples under review is certainly a narrative infinitive commencing the relation of a series of events. Furthermore, the words *m-ht . . . dwryt* are absent from three out of the five parallel versions, which suggests that they are an interpolation. If they be omitted, then *rs nfr m cnh wdj snb* can be translated as 'awoke' without any difficulty, the whole passage then reading: 'Year 5, 3rd month of Summer, day 9, under the Majesty of . . . King Ramesses, H.M. being in Phoenicia on his second campaign of victory. One awoke quietly in the royal

tent on the southern ridge of Kadesh, and H.M. arose like the shining of the sun.' It seems, therefore, that the Berlin Dictionary was on the right track when it gave to this expression the sense of referring to the beginning of a new day (*Wb.* II, 449, 10).

o. The direction 'northward' at first sight strikes one as curious, for a modern commentator would probably describe it as 'eastward', though the road has a definite northward trend; doubtless the writer was thinking of it as a continuation of the northbound road from Yeḥem. The expression *m ḥd* used here means literally 'down-stream' with reference to the flow of the Nile, without regard to the points of the compass, and as such is a true description of the general direction of the march.

p. I.e. the king was preceded on the march by a standard of Amūn, see Nelson, *op. cit.*, 33 ff., though he is undoubtedly wrong in assuming that the allusion is to a portable shrine borne by priests; in his fig. 1 (see now his *Medinet Habu*, pl. 17) we see a ram's-head of Amūn on a tall pole mounted in a chariot, obviously a much more suitable arrangement for leading an army into battle than a shrine on the shoulders of walking priests. See, too, my remarks *JEA* XXVII, 17. The words 'Amen-Rē', Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands' are a restoration of Dyn. XIX; the original text probably had simply 'Amūn', see note *k* above.

Hr here is a little difficult to translate. It may perhaps mean 'under' in a literal sense, since the ram's-head of Amūn on its pole will have towered over the following Pharaoh; we too speak of marching to battle 'under the banner of freedom' and so forth, and I have taken the word in that sense here. But it is possible that the nuance is one of possession, though the king did not actually bear the standard, which preceded him in its own chariot. The whole of this passage is exceptionally written in the first person, as if it were a literal transcript of an actual piece of dictation by the king.

q. Sethe's restorations are not improbable, but there is no real evidence for them, and, following Nelson, they are omitted here.

r. Nelson rightly takes *pṛt* here as referring to the 'going forth' from the pass.

s. Sethe restores [*n gm·n·f hr*] *wē* 'he could find no foe', but it is a pure guess, and I follow Nelson in rejecting it. Nevertheless, the enemy must have been mentioned somewhere in the lacuna, for the following words obviously describe the disposition of his forces. In the next two sentences the restoration [*p·sn*] seems certain.

t. So restored by Sethe and tentatively accepted by Nelson, *Megiddo*, 36-7, where *kḥ* is rendered 'corner' instead of 'bend'. If the restoration be adopted the wings (lit. 'horns') of the Syrian army, as Nelson has seen, must be understood as detached forces holding Taanach and the Qina valley respectively, while between them will have been a strong central reserve which could be rushed to whichever point was threatened (see Map I); it is not to be credited that the Syrian army was strung out in a continuous line along four miles of road and mostly fronting on to impassable hills. That the Qina valley should be held by the Syrians would be a most obvious military precaution, but if the restoration be correct—and it is hard to conceive any reasonable alternative—it is impossible to understand why the Qina force supinely allowed the Egyptian army to emerge virtually unopposed from the 'Aruna pass, or why an adequate detachment was not posted in the mouth of the pass itself. It is true that in the broken lines which

follow there is a hint of a skirmish in the mouth of the pass, as if a small body of the enemy had been found (see note *v*), but clearly there was no serious attempt to dispute the exit of the Egyptian army. If the restoration 'the valley of *Ḳina*' be wrong, then the dispositions of the Syrian High Command must have been incredibly inept; if it be



MAP I. The Roads to Megiddo (adapted from Nelson, *Megiddo*, Map I).

A. Syrian north wing on the 19th. B. Syrian central reserve somewhere along this road. C. Syrian south wing.

right, then the refusal of the commander of the *Ḳina* force to act can have been due only to either utter incompetence, cowardice, or treachery. We have no evidence for choosing between them, though incompetence is perhaps the most likely explanation.

In choosing the 'Aruna route, Tuthmosis was incurring grave risks, for he could

hardly have expected the inactivity of the *Ḳina* force, but he clearly considered that the risks were justified. If he had chosen the Taanach route, he would have had to fight his way up the Megiddo road against the full force of an enemy standing on his own chosen ground; if he had decided to travel by the road 'north of Djefti', the enemy would have had ample time to make fresh dispositions when they discovered that he was not using either of the more direct routes. By taking the 'Aruna road, he not only chose the shortest way to his objective, but also came out on his enemy's right flank. If the Syrians failed to block his egress from the hills, as was indeed the case, they were left with no choice but to conform to the Egyptian movements—in other words, the initiative passed completely into the hands of Tuthmosis. In fact, they were defeated not by hard hitting but by being outmanœuvred, a result that was partly due to reluctance to engage, and probably partly due to a defective Intelligence service; they apparently had no inkling of Tuthmosis' route until he actually appeared in the *Ḳina* valley. If they had known the night before that he was camped at 'Aruna they would have had plenty of time to alter their dispositions—probably originally quite sound—to meet the Egyptian thrust with their full force.

u. *R*'s is probably the particle of Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 252, 4 (so, too, after *šhm* in l. 86), but the damaged context makes interpretation uncertain.

v. These broken sentences suggest that the Pharaoh at the head of the column espied a small body of the foe in the mouth of the pass, but that after a brief skirmish the enemy were dispersed. Nelson, *op. cit.*, 35–6, makes them refer to the Pharaoh's first view of the Syrian northern wing as he emerged into the open, apparently interpreting the words *iw·sn hr* in a figurative sense 'they are fallen!', as who should say 'I've got them!'. But attractive as is this suggestion, to me it seems more likely that these words are to be understood in a more matter-of-fact sense as referring to an actual armed clash with a small body of the enemy; it is hard to believe that the Syrians had not established even a small guard-post in the mouth of the pass. If indeed there were resistance, it could not have been serious and was easily brushed aside; it is abundantly clear that at no time on the 19th was any part of the main Syrian force engaged.

w. So restored by Sethe with some plausibility, though Nelson omits. The troops are rejoicing over their safe passage out of the defile.

x. Restoring [𓂏𓂐𓂑] instead of Sethe's [*ntrw nbw*], which is not convincing; the living king is not usually exalted above the gods.

y. Sethe restores '[He will guard the rear of] His Majesty's army', probably on the basis of *Urk.* iv, 654, 17, but the restoration seems very doubtful, and, following Nelson, it is omitted.

z. At the suggestion of his officers, Tuthmosis remained at the mouth of the pass, doubtless with a sufficient force, to guard against any attempt to interfere with the passage of his army while the main body continued to advance into the valley, and he held this position until the last of the rearguard was clear of the hills. His officers appear to have been apprehensive lest he should make a sudden onslaught on the enemy before all his force had come up.

aa. Lit. 'Now when the [lead]ers reached the going forth upon this road'; [*mr*]*rw*

'leaders' (so restored by Sethe, probably correctly, compare *mr* used of 'leading' an army *Urk.* 1, 102, 17; 104, 6) here clearly refers not to the commanding officers but to the advance-guard who led the way. Nelson, *Megiddo*, 30, has mistranslated this passage as 'Now the rear of the expedition was going out upon this road'. He has mistaken *ph-n* 'reached' for *phwy n* 'rear of', has wrongly rendered [*ms*]*rw* as 'expedition', and has apparently taken *prt* as the old perfective, predicate of *phwy*, which is grammatically impossible, as *phwy* is masculine; on the basis of his translation *prt*, if infinitive, would require *m* or *hr* before it. Actually *prt* is infinitive, but object of *ph-n* 'reached' (i.e. finished, cf. *Peasant* R 59-60), the expression referring to arrival at the point where the road entered the hills into the plain. We learn here that the head of the Egyptian column won clear of the hills at noon.

bb. This passage shows that while the Egyptian vanguard reached the mouth of the pass at noon, it was seven hours later before the rear reached open country and could go into camp with the Pharaoh. We can thus see clearly the reason for the fears of the council of war lest the van should be engaged before the rear had even begun to march. Assuming an average pace of 2 miles an hour—this allows for an occasional halt, as well as for the slight delay caused by the skirmish *en route*—it is clear that the Egyptian army was sufficiently numerous to have covered between twelve and fourteen miles of road in the lengthy formation imposed by the narrowness of the pass, which according to Nelson is only 30 feet wide at its narrowest point. As the distance from 'Aruna to the Kina valley was roughly nine miles, there must have been nearly one-third of the army still in 'Aruna waiting to march when the head of the column was already emerging from the hills. If we accept the mean rate of march as 2 miles an hour, it is possible to construct an approximate time-table for the day. The movement began about 7.30 a.m.; the vanguard reached the mouth of the pass at noon; the rearguard left 'Aruna at about 2.30 p.m., and by 7 p.m. the whole army had debouched into the plain.

Nelson's attempt at reconstructing the time-table (*op. cit.*, 40-1) is vitiated by the mistranslation discussed in the preceding note. In any case, it is highly improbable that the army could have got under way as early as 5 a.m., as Nelson thinks. Assuming that reveille was sounded at 5 a.m.—it is not likely to have been much earlier—the horses and transport animals (presumably donkeys) would have to be fed, watered, and harnessed or loaded. The men themselves would have to prepare and eat their morning meal, strike camp, presumably have their weapons inspected, and be marshalled into brigades so that the whole force could steadily and continuously take up order of march. Even with disciplined troops, such as the Egyptians undoubtedly were, all this would require quite a considerable period of time before the actual march began, and 2½ hours does not seem too much to allow for these preliminaries.

cc. A lacuna of 16 cm., which Sethe does not restore, precedes *hpt*; Nelson has 'was proceeding to rest', without sign of restoration, but this seems a pure conjecture. Actually *hpt* is probably a narrative infinitive introducing a new topic, like the following *irt*, *whr*, and *ss*.

dd. *Whr* is difficult, as the group $\overline{\text{whr}}$ occurs only here. *Wb.* 1, 350, 10 renders 'Proviant', but a verb is urgently needed, though whether $\overline{\text{whr}}$ is to be understood as a

determinative of *whc* or as an abbreviation of a word for 'rations' is not clear. Since the basic meaning of *whc* is 'to loose', 'release', the sense here may be 'rations were released to the retainers', doubtless for distribution to the troops. These latter are not specifically named, but it would be pointless in a military diary to mention the rationing of the Staff and to ignore the issue of supplies to the rank and file. Nelson, *op. cit.*, 42, has glimpsed the difficulty, but in his translation 'Provisions for the court were secured' (p. 31) assumes that only the high officers were mentioned. To me this seems contrary to the spirit of the text; I cannot but feel that in some way the rationing of the common soldiers is here alluded to.

ee. Lit. 'were spread abroad', referring to their distribution to their various stations. Nelson's 'made the rounds' does not convey quite the correct sense of this verb.

ff. Nelson (p. 31) renders 'They (*scil.* the sentries) said "Steadfast! Steadfast! Watchful! Watchful!"'. But surely it was not the sentries who spoke these words, but the officers who posted them and gave them their orders to be steady and vigilant. I take *dd n-sn* to be passive *sdm-f* + dative, with the quoted words acting as subject, lit. '“Be steadfast and vigilant” was said to them'; compare *Urk. IV*, 661, 8 (*ddw*).

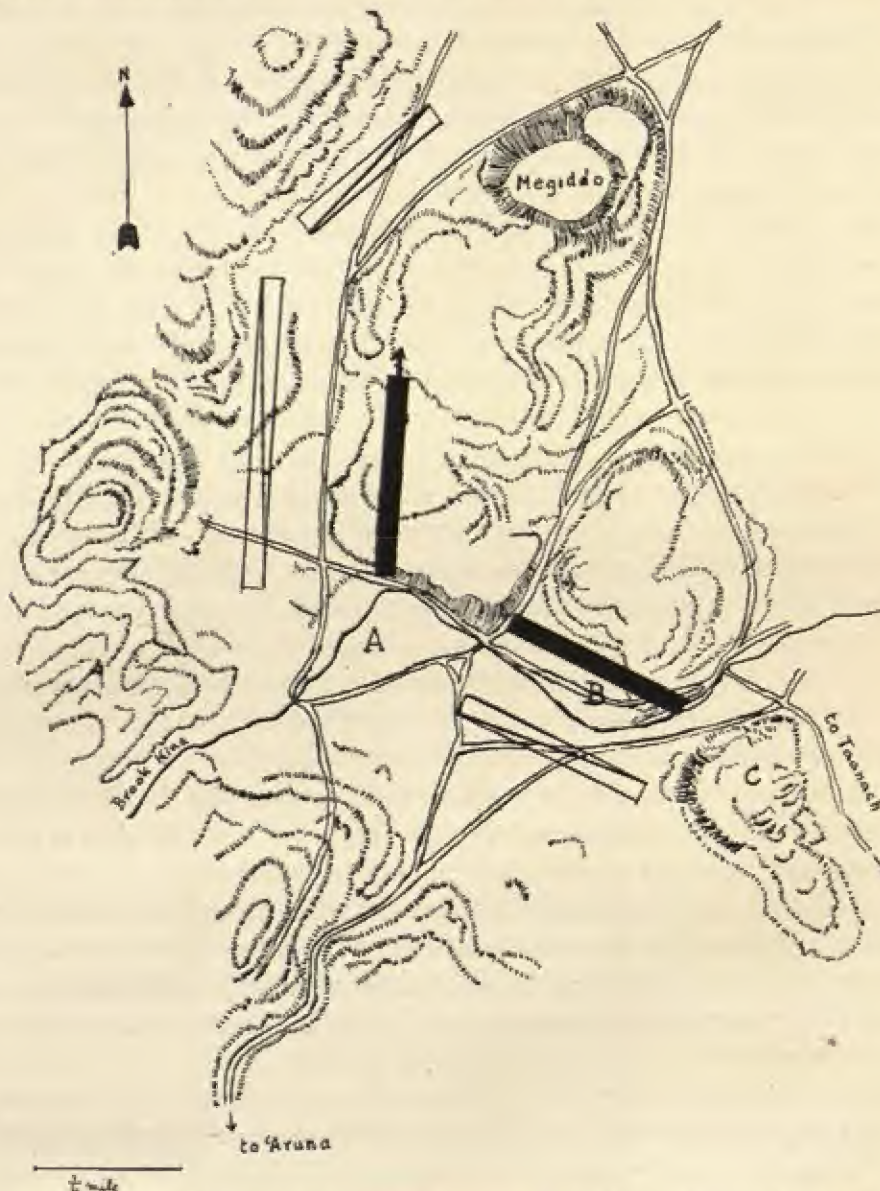
gg. This passage appears to tell us that when the king awoke on the morning of the day of battle he received a report to the effect that the extension of the army northwards across the Kina stream towards the north-west of Megiddo and south-eastwards to Hill C (see Map II) was safely completed, and that the country to their immediate front was clear of the enemy, see note *jj* below. *Mrw snb*, lit. 'the desert is well' may be a fixed expression meaning something like 'the coast is clear'; compare the very similar sense in the sentence 'Act as a shelter, *snb mryt-k* that thy coast may be clear', *Peasant B* 129-30.

hh. At this point we meet a serious difficulty regarding the date of the battle. All previous commentators have assumed that the Egyptian army spent the night of the 19th at 'Aruna and marched on Megiddo on the 20th, but from ll. 56 ff. (*Urk. IV*, 652-3) it is clear that the Egyptians left 'Aruna on the 19th (see, too, note *n*) and went into camp in the Kina valley the same evening. They were then informed that battle would be joined next day, yet according to the annalist, the clash did not take place till the 21st. What happened on the 20th? It is impossible to believe that for a whole day the two armies sat and looked at one another, and it is equally hard to credit that the whole of the 20th was taken up with preliminary manœuvring. Besides, there is the clear order given on the evening of the 19th, 'Prepare ye, make ready your weapons, for One will engage with yon wretched foe in the morning'. In view of these considerations, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that either the scribe who wrote up the narrative from his rough field notes, or the sculptor who transferred it to the temple wall, made a mistake in the date, and that for 'day 21' we should read 'day 20'. Obviously either the 19th or the 21st is wrong in the original, and a corruption of $\overset{\circ}{n}$ into $\overset{\circ}{n}$ would be much more probable than a corruption of $\overset{\circ}{n}$ into $\overset{\circ}{n}$.

ii. Nelson's rendering of *r mty* as 'as usual' makes but poor sense; for the translation 'exact' see *Wb.* II, 174, 1.


jj. Nelson restores 'cross [the valley of the Kina]'. This restoration is decidedly


suspect, for it suggests that the whole army was still within the Kina valley. This is very doubtful, for a little farther on we read that the Egyptian northern wing was to the north-west of Megiddo, while their southern wing rested on a hill somewhere near



MAP II. The Battle of Megiddo (adapted from Nelson, *Megiddo*, Map IV).

A. Probable site of Egyptian camp. B. Probable site of Syrian camp.

 Egyptian position on morning of battle.

 Syrian force caught while still deploying.

the Kina, doubtless the hill marked C on Map II (Nelson's Knoll F). The crucial question is, when did the Egyptian army take up this position? If the move were *subsequent* to the appearance of the Pharaoh, then Nelson's restoration will doubtless be correct; but if the army were already holding the line between Hill C and the north-

west of Megiddo, then this broken order must have been the signal to 'deploy' (lit. 'spread out') into line of battle, and not an order to 'the entire army' to pass the *Ḳina*, for the troops were already extended far beyond it. As a matter of fact, there is good reason to believe that the army was already in position before the Pharaoh appeared on the morning of the battle, for we have read just previously that he woke in his tent to receive a report that the *southern* and *northern* troops were safe; these words have significance only if we take them as implying that the extension of the army on roughly a north-south line was now complete. Such a report would be quite meaningless if the whole army were still massed in the *Ḳina* camp, as there would be no 'southern' or 'northern' troops, and the Pharaoh would know without need of reports if all were well, as he was in camp with them. The only Egyptian force to cross the *Ḳina* during the action will have been the right wing.

The rejection of Nelson's restoration, however, does not affect his view regarding the final positions taken up by the Egyptians, which is almost certainly correct within narrow limits, though it is very improbable that the Syrians ever occupied all the line he allots to them. It seems likely that the extension of the Egyptian line took place in the small hours under cover of darkness, as the Pharaoh received the report of its completion early in the morning. If the enemy failed to counter this manœuvre, it would enable Tuthmosis to cut off the Syrian camp in the *Ḳina* valley (see below) from Megiddo itself and so have the opposing army in a hopeless position. The Egyptian right wing, with its flank resting on Hill C, will have covered the Syrian camp itself, thus blocking any attempt to break into the open across the stream. If the terrain were indeed clear of the enemy when the manœuvre was complete, as seems to have been the case, it is clear that this move took the Syrians by surprise. When they learnt what had happened, they probably made an attempt to cover the Egyptian line, but this would require a hasty deployment over difficult ground in the face of a foe already in position, and it is highly probable that the Egyptian charge caught them while their counter-move was in progress, while they were all unprepared to meet an attack. That would help to account for the panic which evidently infected the Syrian army, for they broke and fled at the first onset; it would also account for the fugitives being able to make for Megiddo at all, as enough of the Syrian force must have got on to the high ground between the valley and Megiddo to save their whole army from being completely cut off.

This view is borne out by the Gebel Barkal stela quoted below, where Tuthmosis claims to have trapped the enemy in the *Ḳina* valley. This shows at any rate that the Syrians had not succeeded in covering the Egyptian line, and supports the view propounded above that the north-south extension of the Egyptian army was effected by night, unobserved of the Syrians.

kk. Probably another reference to the standard of Amūn which accompanied Tuthmosis into action. *M* should doubtless be supplied before *r-dryw*, see Gardiner, *Sinuhe*, 34.

ll. *R-s* is probably the enclitic particle of Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 252, 4.

mm. Lit. 'that one might drag them by hoisting with their garments into this city'.

nn. The particle *h* prescribes this translation rather than Nelson's conditional 'Had not . . .' (= if they had not).

oo. *H* is only here; the determinative and the preceding *m* indicate that this is the infinitive of a verb of motion.

pp. For *šn* 'net' cf. *hw sdr-i m smt šnw* 'I slept in a hammock of net' *Urk.* iv, 2, 16; 'Walk not here; *mk sy* (<*m*>) *šnw* behold, it is a net' *Admonitions*, 2, 12-13; *ḫḫ* 'bend' refers obviously to the bight of the net sagging with its load of fish. The failure to recognize the meaning of *šn* here (cf. *JEA* v, 49, n. 5; x, 195) has caused this picturesque simile to escape previous translators.

qq. For Sethe's restoration 'silver' see *Urk.* iv, 664, 7.

rr. The restoration of the damaged word as *nrr* seems certain. For this word, whose literal meaning is 'smooth', see Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. Brit. Mus.*, III, Text, 49, n. 1.

Tuthmosis III was deservedly proud of his victory, and several other inscriptions of his reign make mention of it. The allusions thereto on Pylon VII at Karnak (*Urk.* iv, 184-6) and on a stela from the Karnak temple of Ptah (op. cit. iv, 766-7) do not tell us much, but the account on a stela from Gebel Barkal published by the Reisners (*ZÄS* LXIX, 31) is more informative, and I here quote the most important passage from their translation. After stating that 330 chiefs had rebelled, the inscription runs:

Now they were in the valley of Kina encamped indeed in a trap (?), (and) I had a great success among them. My Majesty attacked them and they fled at once, falling down in heaps of slain. They entered Megiddo, and My Majesty besieged it for a period of seven months without their coming forth (i.e. until they came forth) beseeching My Majesty, saying: 'Give us thy breath, O our lord, for the foreigners of Retenuw will never again be rebellious'.

Another reference to this campaign is found on a stela from Armant, see Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pl. 103, ll. 10 ff.:

[Departure] from Memphis to slay the foreigners of wretched Retenu on the first occasion of victory. It was His Majesty who threw open its roads and forced every passage for his army, after what . . . did . . . [Megid]do. His Majesty entered upon that road which is so very narrow at the head of his whole army, while all countries were mustered, standing ready at its mouth . . . the enemy became faint and fled headlong to their city with the chieftain who was in. . . .

Both these quotations agree with the narrative of the Annals, even if they do not offer us any aid towards restoring the lacunae in the latter. The first of these passages confirms the opinion already reached that the Syrians were taken by surprise—incidentally showing that following on Tuthmosis' passage of the hills the Syrian force concentrated in the Kina valley and that Nelson in his Map III placed the Syrian camp too near Megiddo—while the second agrees in a general way with the account of the famous march. But the words 'standing ready at its mouth' should not be taken too literally; although the Syrian northern wing in the Kina valley was supposed to guard the mouth of the pass, it is clear that in point of fact the Egyptian march was virtually unopposed; certainly there was no strong Syrian force in the actual opening of the defile.

In order to sum up the results of this study, it will be well to recapitulate briefly the moves in the campaign as they now appear. At the council of war at Yeḥem on the 16th it was decided to adopt the 'Aruna route to Megiddo. The 17th was doubtless devoted to preparations, and on the 18th the army marched to 'Aruna, where one night was spent. On the 19th the advance on Megiddo was resumed, the Pharaoh himself leading the Egyptian army through the narrow defile. The passage was uneventful, except possibly for one minor skirmish, and as soon as the vanguard was clear of the hills, Tuthmosis, on the advice of his officers, took station at the mouth of the pass to guard against flank attacks on the long column as it filed into the open. The move was complete by 7 p.m., and the army encamped in the Kīna valley. Meanwhile, the Syrians had one force doubtless in the valley nearer Megiddo and another at Taanach, in order to block an advance by either route, with probably a central reserve somewhere between those two places. But the Kīna force unaccountably failed to oppose the Egyptian advance, upon which the Syrians apparently concentrated their whole army in the Kīna valley. But again they were out-manœuvred. In the small hours of the 20th the Egyptian army extended northwards across the Kīna stream to the north-west of Megiddo and south-eastwards to Hill C, threatening to cut the enemy off from Megiddo, and again took them by surprise. When they discovered the Egyptian move, the Syrians, now fairly bottled up in the Kīna valley, probably attempted a hasty counter-move, but if so they were given little chance to execute it, and at the first Egyptian charge they broke and fled. Seeing what was happening, the citizens of Megiddo promptly shut their gates and hauled up the fugitives over the walls with improvised ropes made of clothes. The panic in the Syrian army gave the Egyptians a golden opportunity of carrying the city by assault in the confusion of the flight, but they were unable to resist the temptation to loot the rich Syrian camp, and the chance was lost, with the result that the city had to be formally besieged. After seven months Megiddo surrendered, but the King of Kadesh, the head and front of the opposition to Tuthmosis, escaped to fight again and to trouble the Pharaoh for many a year.

To us the importance of this narrative lies not only in the events it describes, but also in the fact that for the first time in recorded history we meet a commander who was not only a brave soldier but also an able general, who not only had the courage to accept a calculated risk in order the more readily to achieve his purpose, but who displayed a tactical skill in the face of the enemy the merit of which is not diminished by the fact that the enemy played into his hands. It is possible too that the episode in ancient military history here discussed may have had an influence on a modern campaign, for when in 1918 General Allenby finally defeated the Turks, it was through the pass of 'Aruna that he flung his cavalry on to the rear of the beaten foe. One wonders whether it was Col. Lawrence, with his knowledge of ancient history, who first made the suggestion which prompted Allenby's move.

AN OLD KINGDOM LETTER CONCERNING THE CRIMES OF COUNT SABNI

By PAUL C. SMITHER

PRIVATE letters reveal to us everyday interests and events—and human failings—the existence of which we should hardly have guessed from inscriptions and books written with an eye to posterity. A remote era like the Pyramid Age would doubtless appear less austere, did we possess some contemporary correspondence. Few papyri,¹ however, have come down to us from the Old Kingdom, and only one letter has been completely translated.² It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that the archive, mostly letters, of the powerful counts of Elephantine of the VIth dynasty should have been broken up by native diggers at the end of last century.³ Fragments subsequently found their way to Berlin, Strassburg, and elsewhere, only one of the letters being intact. This latter, Berlin P. 8869, has been published in a good facsimile by Möller in *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, 2-3. It seems an interesting human document, now about forty-three centuries old, and I have therefore attempted a rendering here.⁴ Möller's transcription is rather unsatisfactory, and a revised version is given opposite.

TRANSLATION

- 1 (To) the Count, the treasurer of the King, sole companion and treasurer of the God, Irew.
- 2 The overseer of the army Merrēnakhte (?),^a son of Kaḥotpe, son of the sole companion and lector-priest Sebekḥotpe, (says):^b
- 3 I, your brother,^c have given my [careful attention^d] to the business about which you sent the
- 4 sole companion and steward Ḥotpe, so that I might not do anything which you would not like.
- 5 Now, if you have written [to] me in order that you might expose the robbery which has been
- 6 committed against me, well and good.^e But if, on the other hand, you have done this in order to
- break up the fighting, because you see the two foreign countries I f,
- 7 then I shall see whether^g in fact you love the Count, treasurer of the King [sole companion and
- 8 overseer of prophets^h] Sabni more than me. But it is better to love the justified rather than
- 9 continual crookednessⁱ, and this is certainly an occasion for attending to^j every transgression of this
- 10 Count. He^k is not one who lives by his own property. But you gave me a clear character^l in
- 11 the Court of Horus,^m even as you and I will act togetherⁿ so that this count shall not brush aside^o
- the robbery which he has committed.
- 12 Furthermore, the sole companion and steward Ḥotpe has seen that I did not wait for the troops
- 13 of Medja and Wawat, so that I might [not] do what you do not like.

(Address)

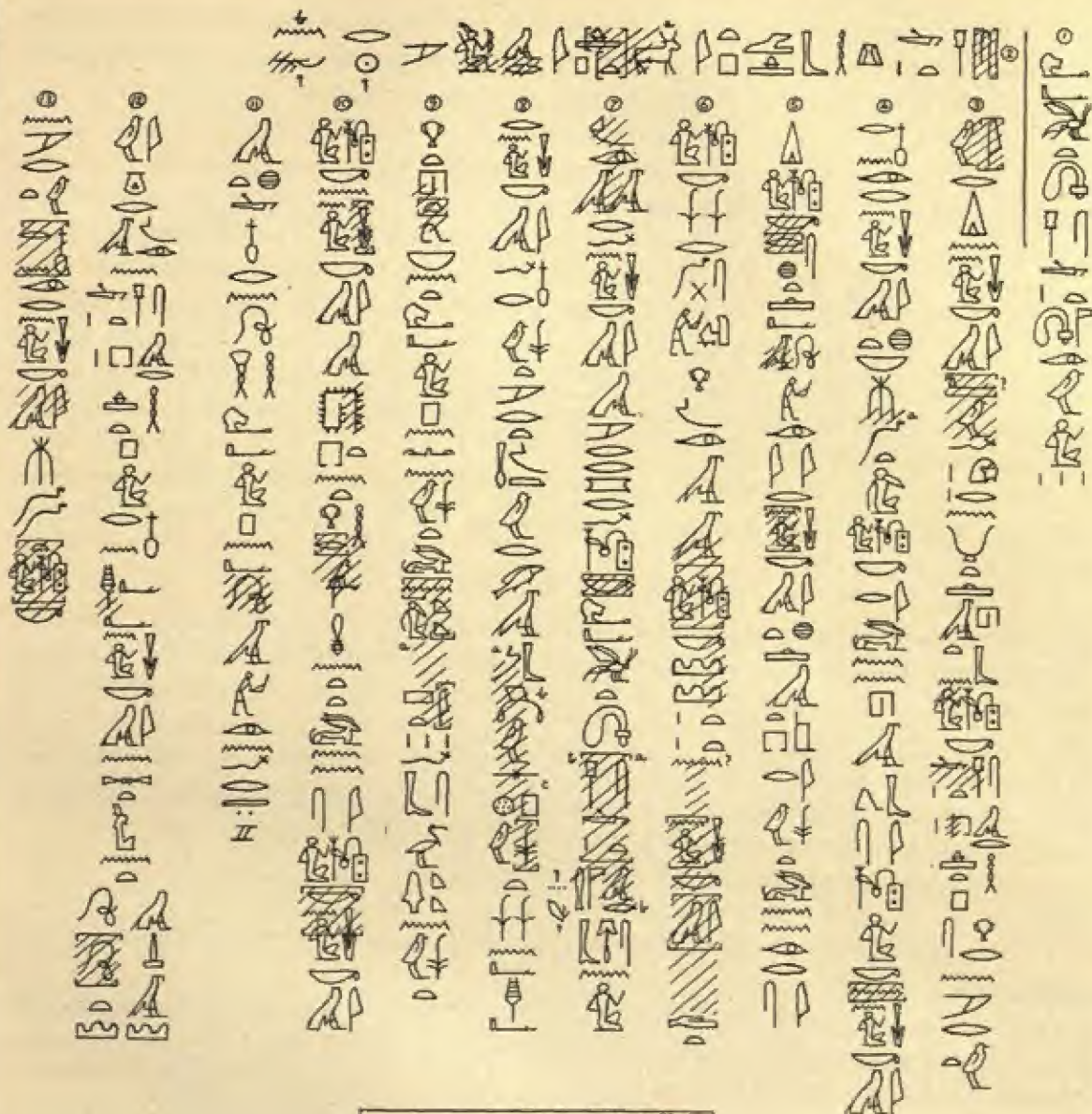
The Count, sole companion and overseer of the prophets of Rē, Irew.

¹ Most of these are listed by Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* 1, 9 ff.

² By Gardiner, *JEA* XIII, 75 ff. (*An Administrative Letter of Protest*), and by Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* xxv, 242 ff. There are, of course, funerary inscriptions containing royal commendations, and the letters to the dead, but none of these have survived on papyrus. Moreover, they naturally differ considerably from ordinary private letters.

³ Cf. Möller, *op. cit.*, 10.

⁴ The only previous treatment appears to be the brief sketch in Erman & Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen*, 91, when the study of Old Egyptian was still in its infancy.



- 1a. For the form of Anthes, *Die Falschschriften von Hatnub*, Gr. 29, 3 (bis). 1b. For this group cf. *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III (9), pl. 1, 4. 4a. There is no room for another ankh in this small space, cf. l. 13. 7a-b. These titles exactly fill the space, and the traces suit, cf. eg. Anthes, *op. cit.* Gr. 7, 12 (pl. 12). 8a. For other exx. of ankh so written see *Commentary*, note i. 8b. For the form of ankh cf. Moller, *Hierat. Pal. I*, no 577, (Elephantine). 8c. The reading ankh I owe to Prof. Gunn. 9a. The slight trace does not suit ankh .

COMMENTARY

a. The reading of this name is very doubtful, as it is improbable that 𐤊𐤍𐤏 could be a writing of 𐤊𐤍𐤏 . The names of the grandfather and father precede in honorific inversion, as in Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub*, Graffiti 14, 1; 16, 1; 19, 1.

b. 𐤊𐤍 may have been omitted at the end of the line through lack of space. At all events, the 'overseer of the army' is the writer, for the count Ireu named in l. 1 is the one to whom the letter is addressed on the verso.

c. The writer of the letter refers to himself throughout as 𐤍𐤏𐤊𐤍 , showing that he is on terms of equality with his correspondent.¹ The latter is always addressed as 𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍 , 'your scribe'. This is nothing but a polite circumlocution, as Prof. Gunn pointed out to me some years ago, when discussing the examples of this expression in the Heka-nakhte Letters. Indeed, to interpret 𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍 quite literally as 'your scribe' would make nonsense of the whole letter. In my translation I have therefore rendered 𐤍𐤏𐤊𐤍 by 'I', 'me', and 𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍 by 'you'.²

d. Perhaps lit. 'thy brother there placed his two hands at the bidding of the business', but my restoration 𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍 is merely a suggestion. The general sense is certainly 'pay careful heed to', or the like.

e. 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤊𐤍 lit. 'the thing is in place'.

f. It is unfortunate that a lacuna has robbed us of most of the crucial verb. The 'two foreign countries' are doubtless Medja and Wawat mentioned in l. 12. Dr. Gardiner has suggested to me in a letter that 𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍 may possibly mean 'break up the fighting' with the two foreign countries, as the writer says in l. 12 that he has not waited for the two Nubian companies. 𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍 certainly means 'to stop the fighting', as is proved by *Pyr.* 319 a, 'King N. has broken up the fighting, and has cut short the strife'. Sethe has pointed out (*Üb. Komm. Pyr.*) that the King is here acting as peacemaker.

g. I can quote no other instances of this interesting use of m introducing a subordinate noun clause, but it is a natural extension of m as a conjunction, meaning 'if' (*Wb.* II, 2).

h. Two signs have been added between ll. 7-8 opposite 'overseer of prophets', but I cannot interpret them.

i. The masc. noun 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤊𐤍 , 'crookedness', is not recorded by *Wb.* (which knows only the fem. 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤊𐤍 , op. cit. III, 362). Another example of 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤊𐤍 is *Coffin Texts*, I, 173, d; also, as an adverb 'crookedly', op. cit. II, 229, a; 242, a.³ All these have the reversed 𐤊 for determinative, as in our papyrus. For 𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍 'long', in the temporal sense, see *Wb.* I, 4; *Coffin Texts*, I, 233, d (𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍 'long affliction').

j. For 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤊𐤍 'to attend to' see *JEA* XVII, 59. The idiom was first noticed by Golénischeff, *Le Conte du Naufragé* (1912), 48, n. 1.

k. I have taken 𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍 here to be the indep. pron. 3rd masc. The enclitic particle would necessitate the translation, 'but without living on his property', which would make less sense here. At this period it was a common boast of the *soi-disant* righteous man that 'he lived on his own property', e.g. 'I did not rob (𐤌𐤏𐤊𐤍) another of his property (𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤊𐤍)',

¹ Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* XIII, 76, n. 1.

² Following St. Jerome, 'Non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu'!

³ An example of the variant writing 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤊𐤍 is quoted below under note l. Cf. *Coffin Texts*, II, 148, c.

⁸ It is worth pointing out that, in Sabni's autobiographical inscription, his father Mekhew only receives the titles 'Count, treasurer of the king, sole companion and lector-priest' as a posthumous honour (*Urk.* I, 137-8). During his life he will have held some less exalted rank.

AN EGYPTIAN TEXT IN GREEK CHARACTERS

By W. E. CRUM

Found by E. Lobel among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, in Parcel 21, marked '3B (? 3rd Behnesa season), 29 F.' $11\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Fibres \rightarrow . Other side blank. From a roll, of which one complete column and a fragment of another are preserved.

THIS papyrus was handed to me in April, 1941, after other scholars had seen it, but had not had leisure to study it adequately. I have spent much time over it, but with the poorest results.¹ It is, I believe, the first manuscript to present us with an attempt, made in the demotic period, to reproduce a hieroglyphic text, phonetically transcribed into Greek characters, and in that respect its successful interpretation would be of no little interest. That an ancient text lies at the back of what we have here—or at least of parts of it—can hardly be doubtful, after Gardiner's convincing identification of the phrases in 11, 18, 19. Beyond that, however, progress seems at present to be blocked; scarcely a word is certainly intelligible. Indeed, for my part, I have failed to make the initial step towards interpretation—for the most part I cannot separate the words. The sole guide to word-division is the superlined $\bar{\alpha}$, which may be relied upon to begin a word; elsewhere it remains as uncertain as in the 'magical' phrases of the Greek papyri. A further obstacle to the interpreter is the constant intrusion of the sign ϵ (v. at 3), whereof no explanation has so far been proposed. In such a text one suspects a plentiful element of scribal inaccuracy, due perhaps to dictation, more probably to ignorant transcription of imperfectly understood models and betraying itself in the variously spelt words in parallel passages.²

The script should be contemporary with that of *Oxyrh. Papyri* VI, pl. iv (= Schubart, *Gr. Pal.*, Abb. 86), datable about, or somewhat before, 150 A.D.³ It is a wholly Greek hand, with certain Egyptian—not yet positively 'Coptic'—additions, stylized to suit the general *ductus* (v. Table opposite).⁴ Of these ancient letters nine still cling here to the new alphabet, but by the time the Coptic character had once, through its use for biblical purposes, been standardized, three of them—all aspirates—had been discarded; two indeed (η , k) are no longer in use in the Old Coptic (*O*) texts.⁵ The Table on the opposite page shows the forms of the nine Egyptian letters in two nearly related

¹ A. H. Gardiner, B. Gunn, and P. C. Smither have read my copy and made invaluable suggestions, duly noted as they occur. I am also grateful for the use of Sir H. Thompson's copies of demotic texts and of his MS. dictionary; also for the reading of a notable word.

² One may compare the frequently divergent spelling of the same word or phrase in the *Ἐφέσια γράμματα*.

³ H. I. Bell concurs in this estimate.

⁴ Besides those in the Table the MSS. Sch. and Mich. use other two old letters; Hor. (v, 28, 32, vi, 20) has one not yet identified.

⁵ On the other hand, the syllabic $\ddot{\gamma}$ seems to have been devised in the Coptic period, whether it be a monogram of τ and ι , or dem. *ti* 'give', stylized; hence added last to alphabet. Found in no *O* text; even omitted occasionally from the Coptic alphabet (Hall, pl. 29).

demotic and in the five Old Coptic MSS., besides our papyrus; abbreviations as follows: *DM* (Demotic Magical Papyrus) ed. Griffith and Thompson, from Hess's photographic plates; *Mythus* (*vom Sonnenaue*) ed. Spiegelberg, from those of the edition; *Hor(oscope)* ed. Griffith *ZÄS* xxxviii, 71; *Sch(midt)*, unpublished papyrus acquired by Carl S., 1937, who gave me a photograph¹. *Mich(igan)* P. 6131, ed. Worrell, *AJS* LVIII, 84, who kindly sent photographs; *Mim(aut)* papyrus, ed. Möller in *PGM* 1, photograph thanks to Ch. Boreux; Paris, *suppl. grec* 574, ed. Erman *ZÄS* xxi, Möller, l.c.

	DM. Thebes 3d cent.	Mythus Thebes ca. 200	P.Ox. Oxyrh. 100-150	Hor. Thebes ca. 100	Sch. Mid. Eg. ca. 100	Mich. Fayyum 2d cent.	Mim. ? 300	Paris Thebes 4th cent.	Copt
1. <i>ξ</i>	33	33	33	33	/	33	—	—	ϣ
2. <i>f</i>	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	ϣ
3. <i>h</i>	λ	λ	PP	—	λ	—	—	—	—
4. <i>h</i>	99	33	333	9	3	22	33	33	ϣ
5. <i>H</i>	↑↑	↑	↑↑	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. <i>h</i>	55	55	55	55	—	5	—	—	ϣ
7. <i>h</i>	6	66	66	6	Δ	—	66	66	—
8. <i>ε</i>	11	11	11	11	2	11	11 ^X	11 ^X	ϣ
9. <i>g, k</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ϣ

DEMOTIC CHARACTERS IN THE NEW OXYRHYNCHUS AND COGNATE PAPYRI

1. A reminiscence of this form in two 4th-cent. papyri: Budge, *Bibl. Texts*, pl. ix, and *Jews & Chr.*, no. 1922 (pl. iii), the latter likewise in a mixed dialect. A different development in *BM Cat.* 711 (pl. 11). In *Sch.* the simple stroke recalls that used in place of a cumbrous sign in hieroglyphic (Erman, *Gr.*⁴ § 52).

3. No longer much resembling its dem. original. In *DM* represents *spiritus asper*, yet there (Index 113, 117, 237, 604, Gloss 450), as here (15 = 44), it varies with *u*.

4. In 6, 21, 32 has almost reached the Coptic form ϣ. Cf. *Mich.*, whose ξ, it may be noted, also resembles ours. The *h* in *Jews & Chr.*, *ut sup.*, is also made thus; it is not (as I there described it) a reversed ϣ.

5. In no *O* text. Once in a Greek gloss (*Spiegelberg, Demotica* II, pl. 10 a).

7. Most likely = *h* > *ξ*, throughout our text. I cannot recognize it anywhere as *d*, which it represents a few times in *Paris* (*ZÄS* xxi, 107 *inf.*). In *Mim.* used as here; in *Hor.* twice only, ϣϣϣ and ϣϣϣϣ. *Sch.* seems to have it in ϣϣϣ and ϣϣϣ; but there it should be ϣ, the more so since normal ϣ often occurs. Can it be intended for no. 9?

8. Again our form is most like that of *Mich.* The younger MSS., *Paris* (77) and *Mim.* (670), betray a knowledge of Coptic ϣ,² evidence perhaps that the scribes are consciously archaizing.

9. Not used in any *O* MS. Whether it represents ϣ or κ it is hard to say.

¹ Not among his MSS. bought by Michigan Univ. (so Worrell); others he had sold to Louvain, 1936 (*Muséon* L, 5). Its present whereabouts I know not.

² Twice in *PGM*, no. vii (346, 511). In neither place is script different from that of Greek context.

Besides these demotic signs, adopted and converted into letters, this papyrus makes use of others: those for *mn* (10), *eipn*, or *pn* (52), *hnr* (10), and two unread signs; also of the group *whm* (3). No *O* text offers so much evidence of having been written while demotic was still intelligible, if not familiar.¹ The only other non-Greek feature in the script is the superlineation. This, compared with subsequent Coptic practice and even with that of the younger *O* MSS., is strictly limited, being used only on initial *n*- before consonants and not consistently there.² Further and quite arbitrarily, to superlined *n* is now and then added a line below (23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 48, 51), a peculiarity not found, to my knowledge, elsewhere. Diaeresis is frequent on *ēi*, less so on *āi*, *ōi*, never on the oft-recurring *ēi*. On *i* (32) it seems uncalled for.³ Except Paris, the *O* texts use it rarely; Hor. not at all. An accent seems to occur twice (14, 46), for what purpose I know not.⁴ Finally it may be noted that the combinations *θ*, *φ*, *χ* are unknown here, save in the name Thaut (3).⁵ Nor are they in use in the earlier *O* texts (Hor., Sch., Mich.), but in Mim. and yet more in Paris, they are freely, if still unskillfully, used.

The idiom of this text could not be termed Coptic; it too often shows words and forms no longer current in the Christian period. Nevertheless it has grammatical features and some words that have survived in one or other Coptic dialect. Indubitable examples of these are: verbs, *moute* 41, *neu* (ⲛⲁⲓ) 12, *piri* 9, *phrēi* 41, *stm* 12, *hṭp(e)* 49, *hmam* 50; nouns and adjectives, *beri* 51, *(e)sēt* 22, *iam* 20, *maie* 38, *noufe* 49, *nim* 10, *romi*, *rm-* 32, 11, *rmṑo* (sic) 13, *rin-* 12, *snaf* 6, *tēr-* 10, *ounou* 12, *hēt* 15, *hṭē-* 11; article, *p-* often, *t-* 14, 25, 39, 47, 51, perhaps 24, 36, *n-* perhaps 6 end, but *ni-* apparently 22; pronouns, *pē* 30, archaic *eipn* often, *(e)tn* 12, 13, 38, *tes-* 9?, *nef-* 21?, 29; relat., *et-* 13, 15?, 18, 20, 30, perhaps 5, 12 = 37, also *nt-* 10, 19, 20; possess. and obj. suff. as in Coptic; prepositions, *e-* 4?, 10, 22, 49, *era-* 12, 17, 20, 38, 48, *ero-* 18? (cf. 41), *n-* often, *nei* 42, *ne* 47?, *nef* 49, *mmas* 5, *mmatn* 21, *m-* 6, 9, 12, 16, 47, *mn-* 8, 46, *nm-* (= *mn-*?) 5, 14, 41, 43?, (*ntn-*) *ntot-* 33, 36, *ub-* (ⲟⲩⲃⲉ-) 10, 31, *ha-* 7, also? 14, 15, 44 (*ha-*), *hi-* 41, *hn-* 27; tense pref.: 1st. pres., *f-* 6 (but cf. 52); 2nd pres., *ek-* 11; 1st pf., *af-* 24, *au-* 20, *haf-* 14?; rel., *etak-* 13; 3rd. fut., *eie-* 17, *ebe-* 7, its neg.?, *nnetn-* 5, its rel., *n(e)teue-* 12 (superline error);⁶ subj. *ntetn-* 7, *ntou-* 25?, 41, perhaps *tou-* 22, with *ša-* 53, *nša-* 21 (vbal.?, cf. *Dict.* 573a); neg. consuet., *mf-* 45?, *muē-* 9? (cf. *mḥ-* 15); uncertain *ar-* 16, 34, 45. On the negative side it is remarkable that common, one would say almost inevitable, Coptic words are absent, e.g. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, ⲁⲓⲱ and ⲟⲩⲟⲩ, ⲃⲟⲛ, ⲃⲟⲗ, ⲉⲓ(?), ⲙⲉ, ⲉⲓⲛⲉ (? 5), ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (v. at 4), ⲉⲁⲛ, ⲉⲣⲁⲓ, ⲙⲟⲛⲉ (? 47), ⲙⲁⲭⲉ, ⲭⲓ.

¹ The Greek magical book on *verso* of the *Mythus* has three demotic rubrics (*PGM* II, 71, 76, 82). I recall no other instance.

² Paris likewise superlines *n* before consonants, but not elsewhere; Mim. also, but less often; Hor., Sch., Mich. never. One may ask whether dem. — (for *n*), so frequent in Hor. (though there before vowels too sometimes), did not eventually become the superline, instead of figuring as a letter; indeed there in v, 25 *ne* it seems to have slipped up above the letter.

³ Cf. M. Schwartz, *Gram.* § 43.

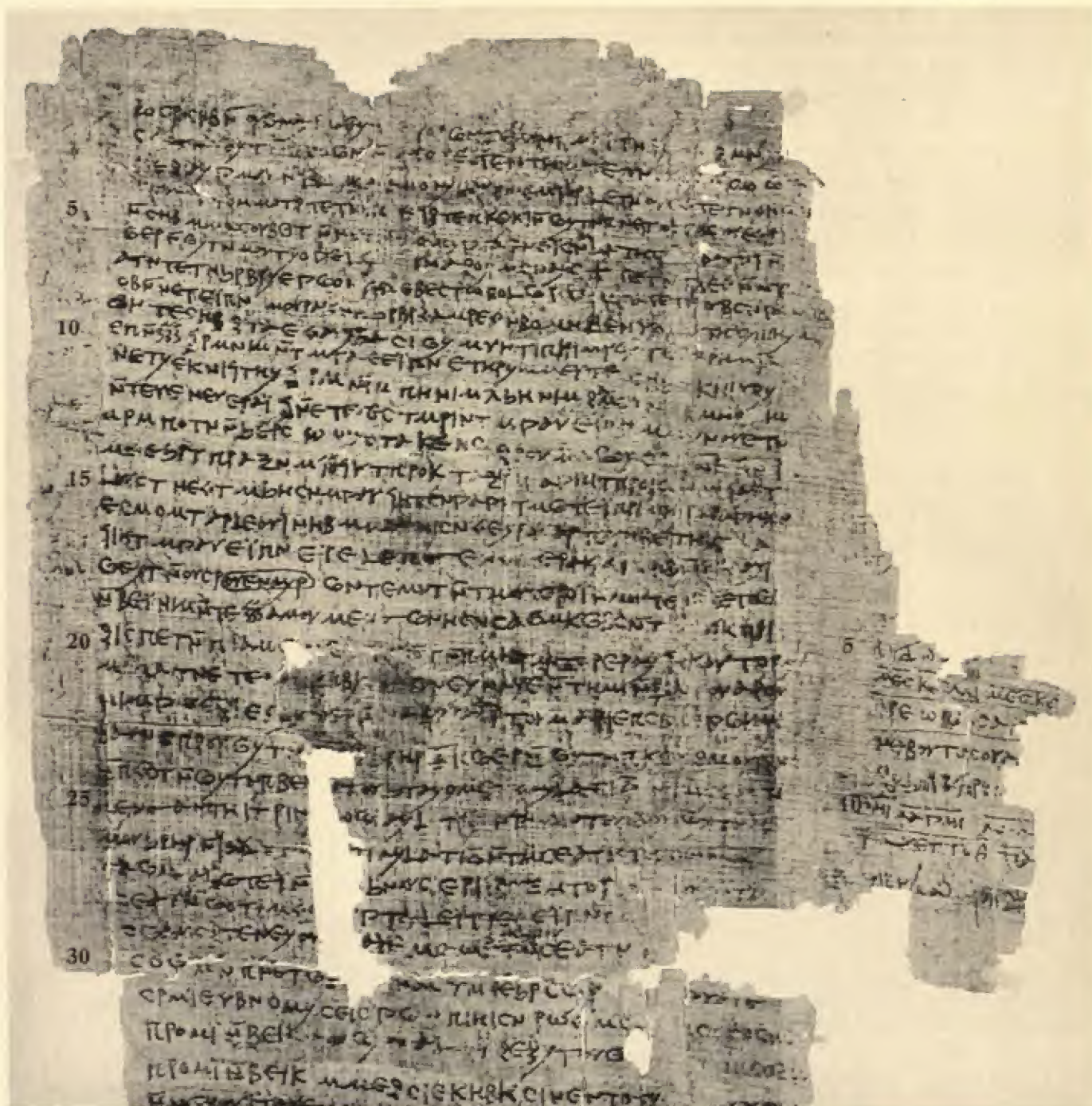
⁴ The accents in Paris, especially in its latter part, are more or less systematic (Erman, *ZAS* XXI, 109); Hor. uses ' after final *n*, but it is not an accent (cf. ? CO. Ad. 39, ST. 14), and ' after other final consonants. Mim. marks word-ends with what looks like ' ; no accents are discernible. Sch. and Mich. show no such marks.

⁵ Whether ξ (14 bis) is such a combination, or whether the first occurrence is in a Greek word is uncertain.

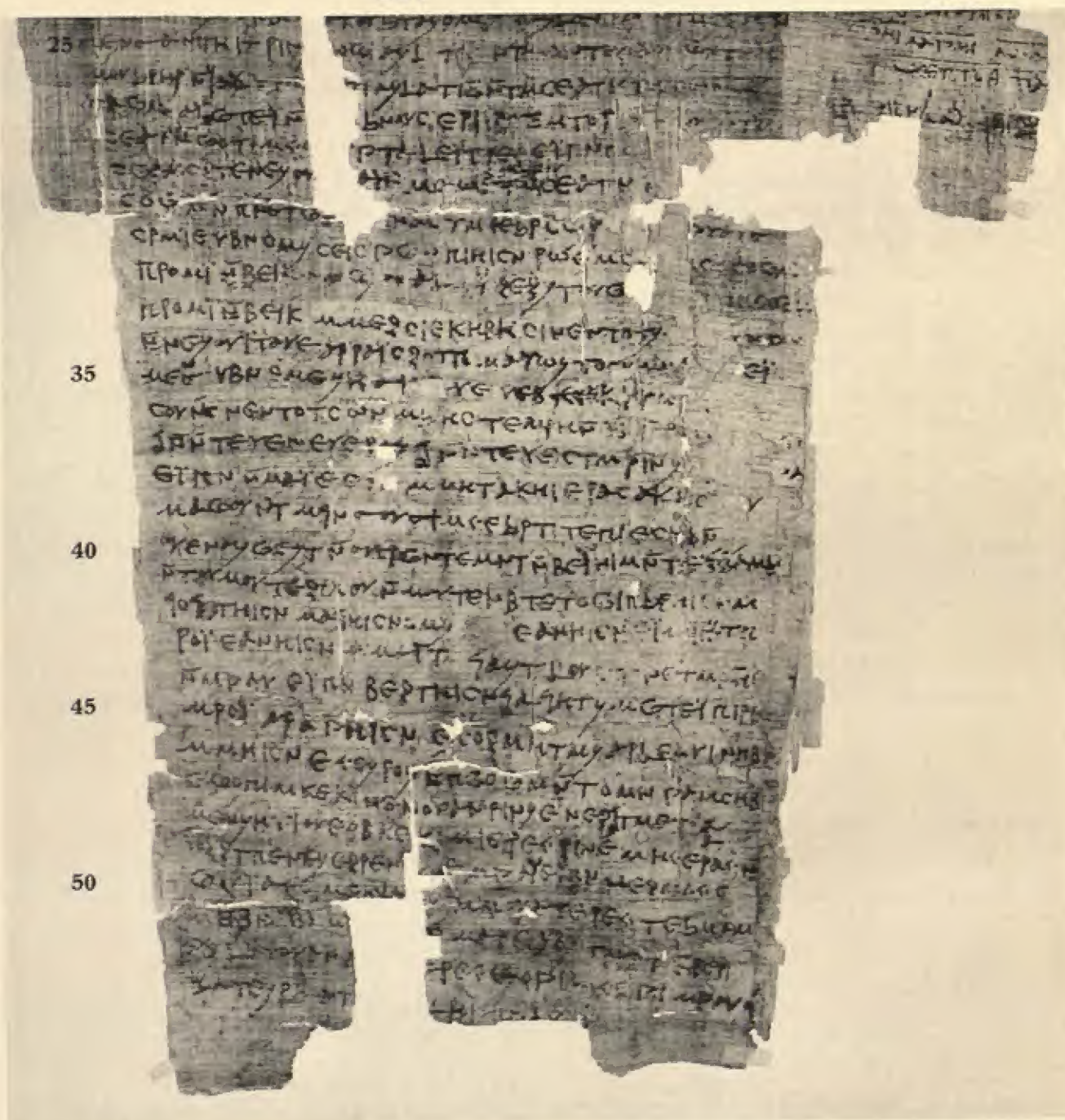
⁶ Gunn concurs.

Col. I

Col. II



EGYPTIAN MAGICAL TEXT FROM OXYRHYNCHUS (I)



EGYPTIAN MAGICAL TEXT FROM OXYRHYNCHUS (II)

Among features which belong to a pre-Coptic age are not only the words still written in dem. script (3, 4 *bis*, 5, 10 *bis*, 52), but the two or three instances (as recognized by Gardiner) of an attempt to reproduce Egyptian *clichés* in Greek characters (*v.* at 11, 18, 19). Moreover, we meet with various words and locutions: *bei*, *eipn*, *etērf*, *nrfnf* 47, *ub*, *ubf*, *hta*, *hta(?)*, *hte*, *hatēt* and probably other prepositions, *snaf* with suff., *nbt*, *lou* 41, constructs *net-* 4, *rm-* 10, fallen into disuse by the time the Greek alphabet had been adapted to Christian purposes, that is, by the time the need was realized for Egyptian versions of the scriptures.¹ Of the other early specimens of an accommodation of the Greek alphabet, with the help of certain native letters (*v.* Table above), to the Egyptian language, only five have so far come to light. What is the relation of this 'Old Coptic' (*O*) material to our papyrus? The *O* texts are by no means homogeneous; they differ in date and *provenance*, as well as in idiom. Hor. is composed in a mixed *SA* dialect (*š* representing *ḥ*).² Sch.³ shows an archaic *S*, with *F* vowels here and there. Mich. again a mixture, with *F* (or *Bf*) predominating.⁴ Mim. is already *S*, with a few abnormalities.⁵ Paris was divided by Erman into two groups, each showing a form of *S*, with varying aberration from the normal.⁶ This last, the longest text, is also the oftenest intelligible, since it approaches nearest to Christian Coptic.⁷ To none of these texts can it be said that ours is closely related, though as in all of them, the dialect, judged by later Coptic standards, would be termed hybrid: a kind of *κοινή*, with Middle-Egyptian forms (be it *S*^a, *A*, or *F*) in a majority.⁸ As for the general obscurity which hinders the comprehension of our text, the earlier *O* texts are scarcely less difficult. Of Hor. it would be hard to find a phrase of which the meaning is not doubtful;⁹ what remains of Mich. looks equally unpromising.

An attempt must now be made to describe the contents of the new text. That it is—or opens with—an incantation or prayer is evident from the first word. But who is addressed? Gardiner, Gunn and Smither, on the strength of the words *sēb* and *hft* (*v.* at 1), answer that it is an 'enemy' of Onnōphris-Osiris, but beyond that they do not proceed. Neither have I any solution for this initial problem. There are clearly two or three key-words, the understanding of which would go far to enlighten us: besides

¹ It is only with the emergence of the Bible versions that we become aware of independent dialects. No biblical MS. uses language comparable to those of this or of the *O* papyri.

² *πτϛ-*, *πτοϛ-* *v.* 20, 22, *ῥρωτ* *v.* 7 may show a *B* tendency.

³ Presumably from Middle Egypt, since Osiris both of Abydos and of Hasrō (*Wb.* III, 168) are invoked.

⁴ *V. Worrell*, *op. cit.* 87. *š* occurs several times.

⁵ 349 *ππ* dat., 406 *οϛπτ* 'alone?', 670 *πωπε* 'night'? Though the condition of the papyrus is deplorable, Möller's reading could be improved. He did not observe that the text is divided into sections: marginal *ϛ* 659, *ϛ* 670, *ϛ* 679 are legible. *κϛϛ*, which he read in 661 etc., should be *κϛι* = *κωνόν* (cf. phot., Deissmann, *Licht*⁴, Abb. 47, l. 3013). Possibly *κων*, *κϛϛ* *Dict.* p. xvii *b ult.*, is a graphic deformation of this word.

⁶ Erman, *ZÄS* XXI, 106, Griffith, *op. cit.* XXXIX, 79.

⁷ Scholars have disagreed as to whether *Ιησου* 3020 indicates Christian influence. Cf. *?Ιησου* 2410. But there is no doubt about the Christianity of 1232-3, where the idiom, moreover, is considerably different from the remaining *O* of this MS. (cf. *PSBA* XX, 102). And Mim. 420 *πτοϛϛ ππτο* is likewise significant.

⁸ *O* texts from Thebes (Paris and ? Hor.) might show connexions with Theban Coptic—the dialect of the local documents, ostraca, etc.—wherein many an archaic feature has survived. Theban dem. texts, *DM* and *Mythus*, almost contemporary with earlier *O*, might give similar results. If the former's glosses are to be a guide, the ratio between *S* and *A* will be found all but equal.

⁹ Griffith regarded it as 'hopelessly obscure' (*ZÄS* XXXVIII, 76).

hft, the recurrent verb and noun *sohm* (v. at 5, 30) and the phrase *afdati* etc., in 24 ff. To judge from the 2nd plur. pronouns 2, 3, 5?, 6, 7, 16, 21, more than one person is sometimes addressed; but this feature is absent from the latter part of the text. On the other hand 2nd sing. appears as pref. 10, 11, 13, 14 (*bis*), 38, 50, and as suff. 8, 14, 17, 19 (*bis*). A grammatical dilemma is involved in the frequent sequence *-ēisn* 15, 16 (*bis*), 31, 41, 42 (*ter*), 46, with their parallels. I had at first thought this a survival of the ancient 3rd plur. suff. *-sn*; but it might = 3rd sing. fem., with the *n* joining the following word (esp. in 41, 42), though this seems less plausible¹ (so Gardiner). The phrase in 12, repeated, with changed object suff. in 37, and those in 16 = 44, 18 = 41, clearly have magical implications; but context in all cases is obscure. At other points too the phraseology is that of the dem. magical texts, as for instance *mhaui eipn* and *mn* (as here written, v. at 10) and the occurrence of the 'scarab' in 23, 26.² Where so little is intelligible one hesitates to say that the familiar 'abracadabra'—the mysterious names and words to be read in every magical text, dem., Greek, or Coptic—is absent here. I have recognized nothing of the kind, except of course in the remnants of Col. II, which, so far as preserved, consists of nothing else.³

Gardiner wishes to state that, before the papyrus could be photographed, it had to be further flattened. This task he undertook, but thinks it possible that, in course of so doing, a letter or two may have become obliterated, or less legible. On this account my earlier readings may, in a few cases, be the only trustworthy record.

¹ In that case *n* in 31 should by rights be superlined. Elsewhere it precedes a vowel and our dilemma is not affected. Perhaps the *y* in *DM* v, 25 might be compared; cf. Griffith's note.

² Much of Coptic magic remained completely pagan, or all but so, invoking ancient gods and demons: Kropp nos. i–xi, xxxvii, lxxviii, Lange's in *Griffith Studies* and notably Worrell's in *Orientalia* 19, 17, with its quotations (?) from the *DM*.

³ A good proportion of these 'names' are obviously not nonsense, but so far neither their Egyptian nor Semitic elements have been systematically studied. The former perhaps gave a general term for such no longer intelligible jargon: ἐπίρησιν ἀγνοῦντιζέειν (Lucian, *Philops.* 31, quoted by Dieterich, *Abraxas* 155n.).

TEXT

Figures above a word refer to the lines in which that word recurs. Where a longer phrase is repeated a → shows that that phrase extends until a star * is reached. Dots on the line indicate quite illegible letters; dots below letters show that they are doubtful; letters below the line are suggestions or possible alternatives.

COLUMN I

⁷ 3y → ω ρο ρκβ ἡοϋεναϣρ ρεϣτ ἡοϣρ ρντεμντ μ.ἱτνρ! . . . ρμνϣ. [

κατν. ρϣτ ἡρσοϥν ἡατορε τετρρ ρμντετν . . . μ. ροϥτν [

⁴⁹ ^{7 26 32} μερ ιαϣ ρμντ ἡϣ3^x ϣλλμονϣ βαττ μεμτ αρλε τνοτ εετetenε6.¹ [

⁴⁶ ²⁹ ⁵ ⁹ τν. ντο μμoτ ρτε τνρκ εϣ ρτε πκεκι ἡϣτ ντενετ ρο ρβϥ οτεε ρη. .

[illegible]

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COLUMN II

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COMMENTARY

Col. I, 1. *O!*, with the exception perhaps of *prax(is)* 14, the only Greek word in the text.¹ Rarely thus in *PGM* (I, 110, 160; II, 178), though *ω* similarly used, but hitherto mistaken for a magical name.² In parallel 17 *ai*. *Sro* 'ram' elsewhere (*DM* I, 12n.). *Sēb* (cf. 5, 9, 46), epithet of preceding word, or = *sbi* 'rebel' (Gardiner, Gunn). The word after *Ouenaf*r recurs thus, with following *n-*, in 2, 4, 6, 18, 23 (*bis*), 24, 25, 40, while in 4, 6, 24, 25 it has preceding *n-* as well. Recalls *hfty* 'enemy', but also *hft* 'in front of, before'. In 22 *hftēh* is similarly used; cf. preposition *hft-hr*. A preposition appears to me probable—especially in 23 (I°), 25—although Gardiner and Gunn prefer the noun, comparing *A* ξεϋτ; Gunn notes that *hft n-* is not known in hieroglyphic.³ *Ousr-* construct as in *PGM* I, 74; II, 20, etc. Cf. *Οσερχενθεμενθει* op. cit. II, 124 (cf. *ZAS*. XLIV, 95), also (? misread) *Ουσερσετεμενθ* op. cit. 20.

2. *Psohn*, read ? *sohm* (cf. 5). *Ator(e)* 'Hathor', followed by 'Tentyra', or by *τεντρο* 'the great goddess' (cf. 4)?

3. *Iaf* for *iatf*, though hardly likely, 'Fill his eye with salt'. Dem. *n-whm* (so H. Thompson) as a rubric: '(Say) again (what precedes)'. Cf. *whm* in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* XVII, 241 (vii, 11). 'Until (so that) Thaut (Thōth) seize him' seems impossible. *Θαύθ*

¹ Yet cf. *co DM* XVII, II. Greek numeral Δ in 24 ff. (cf. *DM* XXIV, verso xiv). How pronounced?

² Exception: op. cit. II, 31.

³ Griffith, *Stories* 120 *hr hftēh n-* resembles our phrase in 22. Griffith queries the meaning; cf. *Ryl.* III, 235, 410. For *hr* = *ap v.* *ZAS* XLIV, 113.

dialectal or archaic, *PGM* II, 101; v. *Dict.* 462a. *Memt* = *mont* 16, cf. also 45. The sign ε occurs many times (3 *bis*, 4, 6, 8 *bis*, 9, 14 = 39, 15, 16 = 46, 17, 23, 24 *bis*, 28 *bis*, 31, 48 *ter*, 49, 50, 52 *bis*). Omitted in 43, though used in 15; similarly? in 35 and 48. Corresponds to no dem. sign, though somewhat resembles ε *rayin*. If not a letter, may be punctuation, accent (emphasis), or other modification in declamation. In my attempts at interpretation I have ignored it.

4. If *hte* is preposition, cf. ? *PGM* I, 50(419) 12TE-, 60(635) 12TH-, 74(128) Δ2TA-. The dem. sign recurs in 5. If preceding space intentional, the ε may join it (but cf. 5). Has several values in dem., both phonetic and determinative. Sign in 52, 53 different. *Keki*, cf. 47, 48 = ? 35, 23 *keke* 'darkness' or 'child'. *Netō* (reading group as intended for dem. *ro* 'great'), constr. of *noute*, not recorded in *Dict.* Cf. *PGM* I, 50, 60(672) ΠΝΕΤΟ, *Ét. de Papyrol.* II, 230 (Lacau) ΠΝΟΤΩ; also perhaps 2 above.¹

5. *Salmf*, thus as vb. trans. 19, 29(?); as noun 27(?), 30, 31, 32, 46. In Coptic the only trans. is 𐩮𐩺𐩣𐩰 *S*, 𐩮𐩺𐩣𐩰𐩤 *B* 'crush'; 𐩮𐩺𐩣𐩰 is intrans. only. In hierogl. *šhm* 'be able' and *ššm* 'lead' (*Wb.* IV, 246, 285).² I fail to recognize a connexion here with either. *Pher* (cf. 23) might be 'enchant', but cf. ? 41.

6. *Mout*, goddess Μούθ? *Fohe* 'he stands'. *Snafs* 'her (its) blood'. The cross suggests dem. *sr* 'amulet', or may be mere punctuation.³ *T[mse]at* (cf. 24) cannot be read.

7. *Ntetenhrrbf* 'and ye overturn him (it)', cf. 𐩈𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩰. But *h* makes this quite improbable and in 8 at any rate this meaning would not fit. *Hatetn* = ? 𐩈𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩰𐩈𐩣𐩰. *Ubs* = ? 𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩰; cf. *ubf* 10, 51, *ub* 31, 35; *ob* 8 may belong to these.

8. Omission after *net*? Or is this a noun? Cf. 5, 11. *Eipn* recurs 7 times, mostly after *mhau*: 'this day', as Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gr.* § 12 *m hrw ipn*, (cf. *DM* XI, 11 *mhv pn*, *PGM* II, 22 𐩈𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩰 𐩈𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩰 𐩈𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩰 𐩈𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩰), *Proc. Brit. Acad.* XVII, 240 (v, 15) *grh ipn*. This pron. is no longer plur. only (Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* § 110). *Mour(er)ak* 'bind on thyself'.

9. *Sihf*, cf. 𐩮𐩺𐩣𐩰 'flake'. *Muēti* = *mhte* 15, 44. Perhaps *muē-ti*, *mhte*, where *mhte* would be neg. 𐩮𐩺𐩣𐩰-; in 27 *h*-positive. *Piri* altered from *prri* (cf. 15): 'go forth from his mouth'. *Ti* vb. forming causative? (Spiegelb. *Dem. Gr.* § 113).

10. First dem. sign is *mn* 𐩈𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩰 𐩈𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩰, as in *DM* Ind. 365 (cf. 435), Maspero, *Mém. s. q. pap. du Louvre*, pls. iii 17, v 18, 28, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* XVII, 241, vi 15, viii 8, 9, 12, all magical texts. Second dem. sign is *hnc*⁴: 'with every man that is in all this land' (Gardiner, though admitting *tae* = *to* scarcely possible). *Ni ubf* seems parall. to *ni htēf* 11; vb. of motion?

11. *Netf*, cf. 8. 'With every man, every *pct*, every *rhyt*, every *hnmmt*, and so forth' (*hmēr* = *hmt-r* Gardiner, citing P. Leyd. 347, 3, 9, 13, and often; also e.g. Budge, *Bk. of D.*, 113).

12. 'Who shall (= ? *ntikw*- Gardiner) see me, with them that (or ? and who, cf.

¹ *Nt* for *nt* *ZAS* xxxviii, 129 (Dyn. XXX) is not construct.

² V. Kuentz in *Bull. Soc. Ling.* 1933, 198.

³ Cross in *Hor.* IV, 32, v, 31 has in original no resemblance to one, nor is its meaning known.

⁴ Looks as though the initial *h* were expressed in this form.

JE A XIV, 86 ff.) shall hear my name, on this day and in this (*etn*, or ? *tn*, cf. 38) hour and this year' (v. at 8). Parall. 37 has *nnteu-*. For dem. v. Ort-Geuthner § 474.

13. *Rmpo*, emend ? *rm̄p etn* (Gunn). *Ens* seems to = *ēs* 38. *Kouki* (or ? *koukim*, v. next word), only ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲁⲓ 'drum' (*Dict.* 109a) seems comparable, but improbable.

14. *Ehr* or *m.ehr*?, preposition, though hardly in 28. *Prax* ? *πρᾶξ* ' (magical) procedure', or 'recipe' (*PGM* 1, 77). *Pro* for *prō* 'winter', or *tpro* 'mouth' (Gunn, though Coptic forms all *tap-*), with 2nd sing. (*e*)*k-* following. *Mhahēi* 'before me'? Not *ēs*n. *Haf-* cf. ? ⲭⲁⲩⲓ- (*Spiegelb. Dem. Gr.* §§ 188 ff.), assuming *t* to belong to following word.

15. *Mhau* after *n-* thus only in paral. 44. After it supply *eipn* (v. at 8) and a verb (cf. 44). 'Her body beneath my body'. Note different aspirate in 44. *Mh̄tei* (cf. 9) must include subject of *p̄iri* (Gunn). With *p̄ri* for *p̄iri* cf. 36 *sne* for *sine*. *Ar-* here and 16 2nd sing. fem. prefix?

16. *Momt*, cf. 3. *Mahēis* = *mēis* 46. Cf. prep. *mmah* (Gunn, but what would follow?) *Be(h) htēis*, cf. 44. *Nha* just possible. 'Do ye incline her heart beneath. . .'

17. *Hikt* 'my magic'? (Gardiner). 'I will say the . . . to thee'. *Ai* (recurs 27), cf. dem. interj. 'y (though that is glossed ⲙ, *DM* Index 20) or *hy* (ib. 545) and Coptic ⲁⲓ, ⲁⲓⲉ (*BM* 1224), ⲁⲓ (*Ryl.* 104, 4) = ⲉⲁⲓⲉⲟ, ⲁⲓⲉⲟ. But it might, if vb. followed, be merely 1st sing. perf. (Gunn).

18. Does circle indicate deletion (cf. parall. 1, 40), or is it the cartouche, which often encloses this name? *Nt-* for *nk-(ng-)* or *ntou-* (cf. 41). 'And thou (they) pronounce for me every word' (but with *nbt* cf. *nim* 10, 11, 19 Gardiner). With *mout(e) eroi* cf. ? *mour (er)ak* 8. Note *moute*, not *mtau*, as might be expected (*Dict.* 196a).

19. 'In every place (*bei* = ⲁⲁ?) where So-and-so is' (*amou* = ⲁⲙⲟⲩ Gardiner). *Menk* ? neg. fut. (*DM* Ind. 256 *bnnk*, cf. ? *menf* 48), but in 25, 35 this looks improbable; *mnk* (Griffith, *Stories*, 176n.) equally so.

20. 'He (it) that is in the sea.' *Mēt* 'ten', rather than 'depth of water' (*Manich. Psalm.* 86n.). *Mtor* 'Bear witness'? (Gunn). 'They have requited (?) him for you through? *Kēbk*.'

21. Either god's name, *Kḥ̄bkis* (*Rhind* Gloss. 520), or *Kēb* with 2nd *k* prefixed to *nēou*? (but *nē* quite uncertain, so too *p̄i*). Same dilemma in 33. *Mmatn* (so in Rom. 12, 1 F) possibly accusative (*Dict.* 399a). *Nefnaue ntēmi* 'his spears for wounding' (cf. *tm-t* *DM* Ind. 1018, *Wb.* v, 450). If so, *n̄satou* 'for slaying them'. But if *ahof* were vb. (cf. 6), *n̄satou-* might be its prefix: 'so that, until they'.

22. *Ni-mhau*, or *nim hau*? If former, not 'day' (cf. 8). *Hfteh* v. at 1. *Naboutai* in form = *Ναβουθαί* Naboth (1 Kings xx); probably a coincidence, not implying acquaintance with LXX. Cf. *PGM* 11, 83 *Περεναβουθι* among magical names *Ουβαορε*, *Ιηρους* etc. *Περε(v)-* recalls many masc. proper names (e.g. *Περενεβθῶς*? *Namenb.* 314); if so, difficult to explain here, but would show *N.* a deity or demon. Others in *-thai*: *Sappathai*, *Bēthai* (in Kropp), perhaps on Hebrew model. Egyptian names in *Neb-* not comparable, e.g. *Νεβουητι* (*PGM* 11, 128), nor those compounded with Nabū-Nebo. *R* vb., as 23?, 53 'Make that they (cf. *A* ⲧⲟⲩ-, *Hor.* v, 32 *ntou-*) go down to Egypt' (cf. ?? *B* ⲭⲁⲓⲓ).

23. *Nsphou*, *n* ? superlined. Read ? *shpou*. *Mouhrēr* dem. 'scarab', written *mwhrr* in *Mythus* Gloss. 348, where (despite *h* = *h*) *ααεϋρηε* is proposed as identical. But this is properly *ογααε-ε*. (*Dict.* 704a, yet cf. *ογααεε†*, *ααααεε†*). Perhaps emend -*εοειρε* 'dung-eater', a more suitable designation. *Npher* as epithet, 'magical' (cf. *B φαδερ* etc. Gunn doubts this).

24. *Be[i]*, cf. ? 19 'place', or 'rod' (*Dict.* 27b) for mixing, stirring? Cf. *εωε*, *εοεεεεεε*. With *omet* cf. ? 31, 35, 42. With *dati* cf. *αωτε* 'pierce', or *d̄id* 'kill' (*ZÄS* LI, 114). *Tmseat* seems = *tmo* 25. If *t* were article, *mo* might be 'mother' and *mse* related to *αεε* (cf. ? at 15 *sne* = *sine*, *pri* = *piri*); but *at* (*atn*?) is difficult, as is *α* 'four' with either of these.

25. *Menk*, cf. 19. *Tēit* 'give' seems impossible, otherwise 'we have given (made) his name to stand' (cf. *ohe*, *ohi* 6, 52). *Touho*, whether the town (properly *Touho*) or vb. 'add' (is this causative likely in so old a text?), remains unintelligible (cf. 26, 32, 33). For (ι)τογχοω?, if *h* could = *χ*(ι).

26. *Uēn* quite doubtful.

27. *Ai*, cf. 17. Is *serirat*, or -*iiat* parall. to *hnoutmseat* 29? If so, next word should be *emtor* (cf. 20). Slight trace of - before *ntm*.

28. *Deitre* noun, 'this . . . '.

29. *Shams* for *sahms*? Cf. 5, 19. *Ouitaue* plur. of *wyt* 'embalmer' (*Rhind* Gloss. 76, cf. Stern § 215), or *ογοειτ* 'stele, pillar'. Again 34. Next words much blotted.

30. *Sohm* noun, cf. 5. Comparable are *sh̄m* 'shrine', *sh̄m* '(divine) power', *sh̄m* 'sistrum', also *šsm* etc. (*Wb.* iv, 289 ff.). Which is its progenitor? *Stm* precluded if following is *meh̄r* (cf. 14) and constr. unlikely if this is a preposition.

31. 'She weeps to' (? *επιαεε ογ̄βε-*). *Nom* noun with suffix? Cf. 35, 42. *Sei* should perhaps be *seh̄*. In *sh̄ho* the *h* shows that *š* is not intended. Cf. *h̄hah̄ha*, *sabah̄ha* (*PGM* I, 66) with *χαχα* (II, 175), *σαβαχα* (ib. 124). *Piēisn-* 'their'?

32, 33. 'Hawk-man', is this probable? Gunn compares *bik rmtw* (Lacau, *Textes Rel.* lxxxiii, 12).

33. *Mehsie* for *mesie*? (*Dict.* 185b; for intrusive *h* before *s*, op. cit. 632a), 'whom Kēbk begat'. *Promi nbeik* would thus be a divinity (Osiris?). *Sine* (or ? *ksine*, cf. 21) with *ntn-* not found in Coptic: 'pass away from him'. Cf. 36.

34. *Ar*, 'do, make', as ? 3 = 16, 15 = 45, more probable than 2nd fem. prefix. In *Hor.* v, 7, 9, vi, 3 *ap* vb. and *a-p* 'to do' hard to distinguish. *Ib.* v, 30 it seems the vb.: 'To keep watch (and) to be at rest alone'. Not *totf*.

35. *Keeki* altered. After it not *mi* (cf. 48).


36. *Sne* = *sine*, cf. 33.

37, 38. Cf. 12. 'Who shall see him and who shall hear his name . . . , on day this and in this right (true) form (? *αααα*). Thou didst come to her, thou didst . . . ' Gunn suggests a difference between *mnt-* here and *nt-* 12. To me former seems error for latter.

39. *Ntm̄* incomplete? Cf. 19 *ηοηκ*. *Sēb* etc. v. 1, 17.

40. *Nbei nim*. Cf. 19.

41. Cf. 18. Coptic would be *ε(εη?)λααγ ηαεογτε ηαα*. *Phrēis*, *ηοητēis*, *αηēis* perhaps 3rd fem. suffixes, but cf. remarks in Introduction above, p. 24.

42. After *nomf* 1 or 2 erased. *Moi*, cf. ? 1; *ik* probably cancelled.
44. *Behtëis* with *h* in 16. Doubtful if *ἡἡἡἡἡἡ* paral. to *ἡἡἡἡἡἡ*.
45. *Nes*; this word-division compelled by 3, 16. So goddess *Sachme(t)* = Σαχμη PGM 1, 143n., with *ne* 'to thee', impossible.
46. *Mn*, is this var. of *nm* 14, 41, 43, or neg. vb.?
47. 'Ever to become dark', or 'become a child for thee (fem., cf. *nto* 46), as one like him (lit. of his name)'. I do not know how to place or explain the hieroglyph (= ) at end of line. Dem. 'y, *hy* 'ho!' are so written (DM Ind. 20, 545).
48. *Menf* neg. fut. (cf. 19), if *ēti* were a vb. Could *mi ere* = *mē era*? *Rine* 'thy name', fem.
49. 'Satisfy him (?) with good food this day', though this should be *hre*.
- 50, 51. *Iaus* just possibly *iats*. 'Thou art hot (lustful?) for him??, for So-and-so.' Not *m[mesie]* *mn* (Dict. 185b), as half-letter after *m* is not *m*, but straight-backed, possibly *n*. *Maie* (38 same?), 'the new form'.
52. *Datoua* 'blasphemer'? 'This day', v. Spiegelb. Dem. Gr. § 12 for *pn* similarly written (Canopus).
53. 'So that (until) he make (do) ten . . . this day.'

Col. II gives the ends of 12 lines, showing well-known magical names.

II, 6. Dialectal for *Maskelli Maskellō*, on which Eitrem, *P.Os.* 1, 72. In *Pistis* (Schmidt 365) *Maskelli* is the name of 'a mighty archon'. Rest of line probably *Phnouke ntabaōth*, as usually after *M.M.*

II, 7. Should be *Oreo-*, but looks like *Areo-* (cf. above *Mes-* for *Mas-*).

II, 8. Not yet explained. Though *Nebou* = *Nebo* (Ναβω, Νεβους) is suggested (Wünsch, *Ant. Flucht.* 19n., PGM 11, 65n., Hopfner, *Arch. Or.* III, 333), Egyptian *neb* seems as likely. *Neboutos: ouēri* (PGM 11, 23) perhaps shows right word-division; yet cf. ib. 39 *soire*.

II, 9. H. Thompson reads only *syh* in middle of this. Perhaps it transcribed 8 (cf. 12).

II, 10. *Hēi lahēi lal*. . . . Cf. DM XII, 20 for similar names; also v, 11 *lahy*.

II, 11. *Pakeptoth pa*. Same in PGM 11, 70 (-τωθ), JEA xv, 234, latter suggesting *pa[kebraōth]*.

II, 12. H. Thompson reads perhaps . . . *skr Thwt* (cf. 11), which recalls the frequent *Pakerbēth*.

P.S. L. 10, comparable signs for *mn*: Stegemann, *Paläogr.*, Taf. 22 (Zaubert.) and ? Leyd. MSS. *Coptes* 435.—L. 22, *Nabouthai* is angel of 10th hour: MS. P. Morgan 23, 71 ff.

THE MYTH OF HORUS AT EDFU—II¹

By A. M. BLACKMAN and H. W. FAIRMAN

C. THE TRIUMPH OF HORUS OVER HIS ENEMIES: A SACRED DRAMA

THAT there were annual dramatic performances at Edfu, in which the victory of Horus of Behdet over his foes, his coronation as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and his marriage with the goddess Hathōr of Denderah were enacted, is beyond dispute.² Having this fact in mind we have come to the conclusion, after a long and careful study of the texts to be translated and discussed, that large portions of the inscriptions forming that section of the 'Myth of Horus at Edfu' designated C³ are derived from the text of a religious drama performed annually at Edfu in commemoration of Horus' wars with Seth, his final victory, his coronation as king of a united Egypt, the dismemberment of the body of his foe, and his 'triumph' or 'justification' before the tribunal of gods in the 'Broad Hall'.

Junker⁴ has expressed the opinion, not without reason, that the god of Edfu, Horus of Behdet, was in his original form a warrior-god as well as a divine king, the stories of whose exploits rest ultimately on an historical basis. That basis, if we accept the theory propounded by Sethe in his *Urgeschichte*,⁵ is to be found in the wars waged in pre-dynastic times by the Horus-kings of Heliopolis, whose frontier town was Edfu,⁶ against the Seth-kings of Ombos and southern Egypt. Under the influence of the Heliopolitan sun-cult Horus, the warrior-god of Edfu, was equated with Rē or, more commonly, was assigned the position of that god's son. Accordingly, the legends describing the conflicts of Horus with his enemies were solarized, and these enemies became the enemies of Rē or Rē-Ḥarakhti, and Horus of Behdet was represented as destroying them in order to protect the sun-god and uphold his authority. Finally, under the equally powerful influence of the Osiris-Horus Myth, Horus of Behdet was identified with Horus son of Osiris and Isis, and the battles, once supposed to have been fought against his own personal foes or against those of the sun-god, now became the war of revenge waged against the murderer of Osiris, and his victory resulted not only in his wreaking vengeance on the slayer of his sire and in his winning, as rightful heir, the sovereignty of Upper and Lower Egypt, but in his being proclaimed 'triumphant' or 'justified' by a body of divine judges. This is the version of the legend which forms the subject of our play.

As Junker has pointed out,⁷ despite the influence of the sun-cult, Horus of Behdet,

¹ See *JEA* xxi, 26 ff. Note that Rochemonteix-Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendera*, and Chassinat, *Mammisi d'Edfou*, are in this article referred to respectively as *E.*, *D.*, and *M.*

² See Junker, *Omirislegende*, 116 ff.; Blackman's essay in Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, 32 ff.

³ See *JEA* xxi, 26. ⁴ *Omirislegende*, 18 ff. ⁵ §§ 139 ff. ⁶ *Op. cit.*, § 151. ⁷ *Op. cit.*, 21 ff.

the old warrior-god, still preserved his identity in the Edfu reliefs and inscriptions, and he and Rē, or Rē-Harakhti, though constantly confused, are even more frequently differentiated. Again, though Horus of Behdet and Horus son of Osiris and Isis are from time to time merged in one another, they appear more often than not as different gods. So much is this so that in Myth D¹ Isis is described as appealing to Horus of Behdet to assist her son, the youthful Horus, in his unequal struggle with Seth.² It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that in the reliefs illustrating Myth C the representations of Horus, in accordance with the usual conservatism and inconsequence of the Egyptians, are always labelled 'Horus of Behdet' or 'Horus, lord of Mesen', though often in the short speeches attached to the figures of other divinities in those reliefs, and always in the text of the play itself, Horus appears in the role of son of Osiris and Isis.

It can hardly be doubted that what is certainly a single literary composition, or at least a considerable portion of such a work, cut up into sections by the eleven reliefs which illustrate it, forms the text, or the main part of the text, of a religious drama. This text is inscribed in vertical columns to the left of each relief, except in the cases of Scenes ii and iii of Act III. In the former instance there are no such columns, and in the latter the text is continued above the relief in four horizontal lines.

How does the Edfu dramatic text compare with the Memphite *Creation Play*, published and discussed by Sethe in his *Dramatische Texte*?³ That play comprises a narrative text, short dialogues—introduced by headings stating who are the speakers—and what may be termed stage directions. The Ramesseum *Coronation Drama*⁴ presents the same features with this addition, that the stage directions make mention of the various theatrical properties required for the due performance of each scene.⁵ Sethe has suggested, with great probability, that the Egyptian religious plays, like those of medieval Europe, consisted of a narrative, recited by a reader, linking together a number of dramatic performances in which the players, by short set speeches, gestures, and actions, gave life and reality to the reader's story. Sethe aptly likens this narrative to the captions on a silent film.⁶ In the Edfu play there are only a few scraps of text that might possibly be excerpts from a narrative of this character,⁷ there are scarcely any headings,⁸ and there are no stage directions except in Act I, Scene iv, and Act III, Scene iii. The probable explanation for these deficiencies is, we venture to think, as follows. The Late-Egyptian uses scattered about the dramatic text⁹ suggest that a partially modernized version of the 'Triumph of Horus over his Enemies' was compiled by an Edfu scribe at some time or other during the late New Kingdom, and deposited in the temple library. In this version, apart from the two instances just

¹ JEA xxi, 27.

² Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, pp. 1-80.

³ Op. cit., 91 f. and 99 ff.

⁴ E. vi, 215, 9-216, 2.

⁵ Op. cit., 83 ff.

⁶ Op. cit., 16 ff.

⁷ See E. vi, 61, 2-3 (*hrt m-ddf*); 70, 9-71, 1 (*wbr n-f-hkw-ib*); 73, 4-5 (*wd sgb-Nhs*); 73, 9-74, 1 (*i-in-dd-s*); 80, 11 (*dd-in-n*); 84, 15 (*hw wp-n-dd-s*); 89, 6-7 (*Hr m phty-f-sr-s*).

⁸ See *dd mdtw in hmf* and *dd mdtw in hmw-nfr*, etc., E. vi, 60, 11; 83, 3.

⁹ See, e.g., E. vi, 61, 12 (*mtw = m-dr*); 73, 4 (*wd sgb*); 77, 7 (definite art. with vocative); 84, 15 (*p-k*); 74, 1 and 88, 1 (*p-hb*).

cited, the conventional headings,¹ which introduce the utterances of divinities, kings, and other persons, in all religious and formal texts, and which are regularly employed in the Memphite and Ramesseum dramatic texts, were replaced by such phrases as 'Isis said to Horus', 'Thoth said', and the like, these phrases being incorporated in the narrative.² The view that our dramatic text is based on a late New Kingdom recension of this character finds support in the fact that the archetypes of Myths D and E, tales of much the same class as the 'Contendings of Horus and Seth', were clearly manuscripts of that period.³ Furthermore, a text on the inner face of the great girdle wall at Edfu, upon which all the inscriptions and reliefs composing the 'Myth of Horus' are to be found, informs us that 'this wall is inscribed conformably with the Emanations of Rē', that is, with material derived from old books.⁴ It is highly probable, therefore, that not only Myths D and E, but Myth C, and possibly the other two sections of the Myth as well, were copied from texts written on papyrus rolls, which had been preserved in Edfu temple-library from what to the priests of the Ptolemaic period must have seemed time immemorial.

When this version of our play was inscribed on the girdle wall, some curtailment was found to be necessary, in order to make room for the accompanying reliefs, which were thought to give the written words greater magical and prophylactic power.⁵ This curtailment was effected with little discrimination, the scribe who drew up the text for the engraver ruthlessly discarding all the narrative, apart from a few disjointed fragments, and so depriving us of most of the substitutes for the older headings. Thus a large number of the speeches and all the choruses are left without any indications as to the characters, or groups of characters, by whom they were to be declaimed or chanted, and the required information can be gained only from internal evidence, which is often decidedly indefinite, and occasionally from the reliefs. Finally—also no doubt to economize in wall-space—all the stage directions except three, which are to be found in Act I, Scene iv, and Act III, Scene iii, were omitted.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the loss occasioned in our version of the Edfu play by the omissions above mentioned is to a large extent repaired by the presence of the reliefs. These not only in some degree replace the headings and stage directions, but, at the same time, pictorially enumerate the properties, which in our play, as the reliefs show, included beside boats, weapons, clothes, masks,⁶ crowns and other ornaments, models of hippopotami, and at least one model of an enemy in human form.⁷ Such figures were usually, no doubt, made of clay, like those recently described by Posener,⁸ but one, that of a hippopotamus, employed in Act III, Scene iii, of our play, was made of bread or similar substance. Thus the dismemberment of the victim, enjoined in a stage direction and a speech by Isis,⁹ and illustrated in the accompanying relief,¹⁰ could be easily carried out.

With regard to the subsidiary texts accompanying the sculptured figures, our view

¹ I.e., *Dd mdw in N*.

² See *JEA* xxi, 27.

³ See below, p. 37 f.

⁴ See *E.* xiii, pl. dxiii.

⁵ *E.* vi, 88, 1-2; 89, 6 ff.

² E.g., *E.* vi, 61, 3; 73, 9; 74, 1.

⁴ See Gardiner, *JEA* xxiv, 168; 173; *E.* vi, 14, 12-13.

⁶ Sethe, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 220, 227.

⁸ *Chron. d'Ég.*, No. 27, 1939, pp. 39 ff.

¹⁰ *E.* xiii, pl. dxiv.

is that though they appear to represent a divinity, demon, king, or other person, as actually speaking, they are mainly intended, particularly in the case of non-speaking players, to indicate the actions and functions of those characters. Thus, for instance, though it might appear that a demon is saying 'I gore with my horns him who plotteth against thy palace',¹ this does not necessarily imply that the actor playing the part of the demon actually uttered those words, but that this was the action he had to simulate. It must also be remembered that the names and short speeches attached to the figures helped to render them alive and so increase their magical efficacy.²

It will be noticed that there are differences and discrepancies between the reliefs and their subsidiary texts and the main dramatic text, characters sometimes appearing in the former who do not appear in the latter, and conversely. The explanation for this may be that the play included many actors who, though they had no speaking parts, were essential features of it, and who would have disappeared from a purely textual version so much curtailed as ours seems to be. Furthermore, it is possible that the considerations of space and economy, which seem to have led to the abridgement of the dramatic text, may also have caused the occasional omission from the reliefs of the representations of players with speaking parts, the very fact that their words were recorded in writing being considered sufficient guarantee of their escaping oblivion. But here it should be pointed out that apart from such discrepancies as these there is almost complete agreement between the dramatic text and the reliefs. Thus, the descriptions in the former of the wounds inflicted on the hippopotamus tally exactly with what is depicted in the latter. The main disagreement is that while in the reliefs the hero of the play appears in the guise of Horus of Behdet, lord of Mesen, the warrior-god of Edfu, in the dramatic text he is the youthful Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis.³

Who formed the company of players who acted in the drama, and where was the drama itself staged? In addition to the actors and actresses with speaking and non-speaking parts, who are likely to have been members of the temple-priesthood or their relatives, and the Reader, who may have been the Chief Lector of the temple,⁴ the king was supposed to participate in the performance, though naturally his place would nearly always have been taken by a substitute. It is highly probable that there was also a chorus. This would, no doubt, have comprised in any scene those players present on the stage who filled the roles of friends and supporters of Horus, and it may have contained as well a number of temple-singers and temple-musicians.⁵ Furthermore, we may presume that the crowd of spectators, who must have been worked up to a high pitch of excitement and religious emotion by the scenes enacted before them, joined in the cry 'Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!'

The observation in one of the few surviving stage directions that 'this book'—

¹ *E.* vi, 68, 5.

² See below, p. 38 with n. 3.

³ Some of the subsidiary texts, however, as already stated above, speak of him, like the dramatic text, as son of Osiris and Isis.

⁴ See below, p. 36.

⁵ See Blackman, *JEA* vii, 8 ff.; *Worship (Egyptian)*, 1, 7, in Hastings, *ERE* xii, 780.

possibly the narrative portions of our play¹—is to be 'recited by the Chief Lector', gives us some ground for supposing that it was this important priestly officiant who acted as 'Reader', when the annual performance of the 'Triumph of Horus over his Enemies' took place at Edfu. Accordingly it would probably be quite permissible to substitute [CHIEF LECTOR] for [READER] wherever in our translation of the dramatic text that heading has been inserted by us at the beginning of passages which we think it was some such functionary's business to recite.

The fact that it is Imḥōtep who figures as 'Chief Lector' in the relief which illustrates the last scene of Act III prompts the suggestion that he was impersonated by the 'Reader' or 'Chief Lector' all through the play. On the other hand it must be remembered that Imḥōtep is not mentioned in the dramatic text itself and that his appearance in the rôle of Chief Lector in this Ptolemaic relief may be due to the deep veneration in which he was held in the late period, when he regularly bore the title in question.² However, it must also not be forgotten that the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu replaced a much older structure, and, furthermore, that there seems to have been some local tradition which associated the original building with Memphis and therefore with the period of the Old Kingdom. Thus the great girdle wall is said to be a similar construction to that first begun by them of old time (*mī šr-n tpyw-r*), 'like what was on the great ground plan in the book which fell from heaven north of Memphis',³ while another text states that the pattern which the Ptolemaic builders followed, when erecting this same wall, was derived from the 'Book on Designing a Temple' (*šfdt n šm hwt-ntr*), which Imḥōtep himself was supposed to have written.⁴ Since tradition apparently associated Imḥōtep with the early history of Edfu temple, it may also have connected him in some way with the play which was performed annually within that temple's precincts, may even have ascribed to him the authorship of it. This would account for his appearance in the rôle of Chief Lector in the relief illustrating a very important and significant scene. Seeing how ancient the above-mentioned *Creation Play* and *Coronation Drama* are, it is not altogether impossible that our dramatic text may ultimately be derived from a Third Dynasty archetype, a composition that may actually have been the work of Imḥōtep or put together under his supervision. If both these traditions were current at Edfu in Ptolemaic times, the priests would have considered it most appropriate to place a version of the play, of which Imḥōtep was thought to be the author, on the face of a wall of which he was, so to speak, the architect. In connexion with the claim that the girdle wall at Edfu was built in accordance with a design ascribed to Imḥōtep, it is interesting to recall the fact that this famous sage almost certainly planned the vast girdle wall which encloses the sacred precincts of King Djoser's pyramid at Šakkārah. At the least, therefore, the words of *E.* VI, 10, 10 indicate that some memory of this or of a similar great structure designed by Imḥōtep still survived among the priests of Ptolemaic Egypt, even if only in the form of half-legendary, literary allusions.

¹ We must not, however, disregard the possibility that by 'this book' is meant a series of denunciations and curses, not reproduced in our abridged version of the play, to be pronounced against Seth during the dismemberment, such as those preserved in the 'Book of Overthrowing Apep' = *Pap. Bremner-Rhind*, 22, 1 ff.

² See, e.g., *E.* VI, 10, 10.

³ *E.* VI, 6, 4.

⁴ *E.* VI, 10, 10.

performed with the 'red vases' and the clay figures of captives covered with written threats and denunciations¹—that purpose being the overthrow and destruction of Pharaoh's enemies.

Reference should here be made to the belief prevalent among the Egyptians that not only statues, but the figures carved and painted on the temple- and tomb-walls, possessed the qualities and powers of the persons or things represented.² Thus, it may well be that one of the reasons for having the dramatic text with its accompanying illustrations engraved on a wall of Edfu temple was to ensure that the god and king would continue to receive all the benefits that the annual performances were supposed to confer on them, if by some unlucky chance these performances were to lapse.³

As Sethe has observed,⁴ the speeches pronounced by the actors in the Memphite *Creation Play* and the Ramesseum *Coronation Drama* are very short. The Edfu play, however, contains many of considerable length, of which quite a few attain some degree of literary merit. In these respects, then, it is much less primitive and elementary than any other Egyptian dramatic work so far published.

Our play clearly consists of five distinct sections, forming a prologue, three acts subdivided into scenes, and an epilogue. To make the translation of the dramatic text more intelligible to the reader we have placed before each speech in square brackets [] the name of the character who was intended, or who we think was intended, to recite it. We have similarly indicated those passages which, in our opinion, it was the function of the chorus and Reader⁵ to chant or declaim.

In the section following the letters above words refer to the footnotes, and the similarly placed numerals to the notes in the Commentary. The numerals in the translation placed in square brackets denote the pages and lines in Chassinat's text, i.e., [63, 1] = *E.* vi, p. 63, l. 1.

(To be continued.)

¹ See Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches* = *Abhandl. Berlin*, 1926, Nr. 5; Posener, *Nouvelles listes de proscription (Ächtungstexte) datant du Moyen Empire in Chron. d'Ég.*, No. 27, 1939, pp. 39 ff. Cf. *Pap. Bremner-Rhind*, 25, 19, and 28, 6 and 17 = Faulkner, *JEA* xxiii, 171; 174 f.; *E.* vi, 235, 4 ff.

² See 'Conclusions' with footnote 127 in Blackman and Fairman's joint article in *Miscellanea Gregoriana. Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I Centenario dalla fondazione del Museo Egizio (1839-1939)*, and n. 9 of the Commentary in the same article. Evidently to ensure the figures in the reliefs possessing this mysterious life the ceremonies performed at the consecration of a temple included the rite of Opening the Mouth, *E.* iv, 331, 10.

³ The texts and illustrations of Myth A were evidently supposed to be as magically efficacious on the king's behalf as those of Myth C, for the concluding sections of the former are all concerned with the protection of the Pharaoh and the overthrow of his enemies, the last of them describing a very powerful phylactery which could be employed for these purposes; see *JEA* xxi, 36.

⁴ *Dram. Texte*, pp. 95, 220, 227.

⁵ As has been stated above, only fragments of the narrative which the Reader would have recited at an actual performance of the play survive in the existing version of it.



THE CELESTIAL COW IN THE TOMB OF SETHOS I
from a drawing by Howard Carter

P. GISS. 40 AND THE *CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA*

By H. I. BELL

SINCE the publication of Dr. Heichelheim's article, *The Text of the Constitutio Antoniniana and the three other Decrees of the Emperor Caracalla contained in Papyrus Gissensis 40* (*JEA* xxvi, 10-22) yet another addition has been made to the voluminous literature which has clustered round this perplexing document. It is by A. Segrè and appeared, under the title *Note sull' editto di Caracalla*, in *Rend. d. Pontif. Accad. Rom. di Arch.* xvi (1940), 181-214. As the part which contains it is probably inaccessible to many scholars under war conditions, I think it worth while to call attention to Prof. Segrè's article, all the more since, while impressed by the novelty and suggestiveness of his views, I feel considerable doubt as to the correctness of most of them.

Segrè's treatment of the subject is a little desultory and, to me at least, confusing; and it will be useful to present his conclusions in a more compact form than that in which he formulates them. He begins by setting forth the questions which he is attempting to clear up, as follows: (a) Who were the *dediticii* at the time of the C.A. and what was their legal position? (b) What does the word *dediticii* mean in the C.A.? (c) What was the position of the Aurelii, the new citizens? (d) What were the effects of the C.A.?

The actual treatment does not, however, exactly follow this fourfold scheme; it is complicated by a long discussion of the legal position of the Egyptians and the legal sense of the name 'Egyptian'. I will, therefore, set down his conclusions in a somewhat different arrangement, as follows:

(1) *Dediticii* were originally, as defined by Gaius 1. 4, 'hi qui quondam adversus populum Romanum armis susceptis pugnauerunt, deinde victi se dediderunt', but in the time of Caracalla were simply *cives nullius certae civitatis*.

(2) The only *dediticii* left in the Empire at the time of the C.A. were the Egyptians *λαογραφούμενοι*, the *dediticii ex lege Aelia Sentia*, and such barbarians as surrendered at discretion.

(3) The Egyptians in this sense were the rural population: the privileged inhabitants of the metropoleis cannot, as Bickermann maintained, be classed along with the *ἐγχώριοι* of the nomes, as, in the legal sense, 'Egyptians'. Hence the privileged metropolites were not *dediticii*.

(4) P. M. Meyer's restoration of ll. 7-9 of P. Giss. 40, *δίδωμι τοῖς[ν] ἀπα[σιν] ξένους τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων [μ]ένοντος [παντὸς γένους πολιτευμ]άτων χωρ[ῖς] τῶν [δε]δειυκίων* is in substance correct.

(5) Meyer was, however, mistaken in supposing that the subsidiary clause excluded the *dediticii* (i.e. the Egyptians) from the citizenship: the words *χωρῖς τῶν δεδ.* go with

μένοντος κτλ., not with δίδωμι κτλ., and the C.A. gave the citizenship to *all* the inhabitants of the Empire.

(6) The word πολίτευμα means *status civitatis*. This was to remain unaffected by the C.A. except in the case of the *dediticii*: that category was abolished.

(7) The reason for this exception was that, as appears from Gaius 1. 26, *dediticii* could acquire Roman citizenship neither *ulla lege* nor *senatus consulto* nor *constitutione principali*. Hence the status must be abolished before Egyptians could enjoy the benefits of the C.A.

(8) The reason for maintaining (with this one exception) the *status civitatis* was that 'se Caracalla avesse dato a tutti gli abitanti dell' Impero la cittadinanza romana abolendo i πολιτεύματα avrebbe abbassato le condizioni di tutti i romani senza innalzare di molto quella dei provinciali'. The effect of the subsidiary clause was to maintain the existing *status civitatis* of the various classes; and the rural Egyptians continued, as before, to be λαογραφούμενοι and inferior to the metropolites.

(9) The new citizens under the C.A. were Romans *sui generis*. They retained their existing *status civitatis*, and, unlike the older Romans and the few Aurelii granted Roman citizenship *titulo singulari* after the C.A., they had no *tribus*.

In the second part of his article Segrè goes on to discuss the application of Roman private law to natives of Egypt both before and after the C.A., showing how (to quote his conclusion) 'nel periodo anteriore alla C.A. le leggi applicate ai romani nelle provincie erano in parte romane e mezze romane ed in parte leggi indigene che di solito subivano una evoluzione per la attività dei legislatori romani. Dopo la C.A. tutti i romani e gli Aurelii delle stesse provincie hanno le stesse leggi. Ma queste sono diverse da provincia a provincia, perchè le leggi ed i costumi indigeni non sono del tutto aboliti, anzi essi di regola vivono come nel periodo anteriore alla C.A.'

This second part is a valuable contribution to the study of Roman law in the provinces, but because it presupposes in any critic a legal knowledge which I do not possess, and because the earlier theses are the more novel and historically the more important, I will confine myself to the latter.

They are, as will have been seen, ingenious; but most readers will, I fancy, feel that some of Segrè's conclusions are less plausible than others and that certain of his arguments are far from convincing.

His theory as a whole seems to rest on his view that 'Egyptians'¹ in the legal sense, as distinct from Romans or Greeks, were the inhabitants of the nomes only, not the privileged metropolites. As he says (p. 186) 'sarebbe strano che i sirii, i misii e magari i germani non fossero dediticii mentre lo erano i greci imbastarditi abitanti dell' Egitto'. It is necessary, therefore, to examine first this repudiation of Bickermann's view that metropolites and nome dwellers alike were 'Egyptians'; but before doing that I must clear away some misconceptions of which Segrè is guilty.

He appears to think that all metropolites were ἀπὸ γυμνασίου ('i metropoliti, come è noto, sono figli di ἀπὸ γυμνασίου che hanno la loro origo nelle metropoli'). This is

¹ As the name is ambiguous I shall in future insert inverted commas whenever I use it in the technical sense above defined; and so, too, I shall write 'Greeks' when I use the word technically.

certainly incorrect. Applications for *epicrisis* may ground the claim on the fact *either* that the applicant is a metropolite paying poll-tax at the reduced rate *or* that he is ἀπὸ γυμνασίου; and the same distinction of grading is seen in registrations of birth and the like. A few examples may be given. (1) Ἀπὸ γυμνασίου: P. Oxy. II, p. 208 (census declaration, A.D. 145-6), αὐτὸς ἐγὼ μητρὸς Διονυσίας Ἰέρακος ἀπὸ γυμνασίου; P. Ryl. II, 101 (εἰσκρισις, Hermopolis, A.D. 63), τὸν υἱόν μου . . . ἀπὸ γυμνα[σ]ίου ὥραν [ἔχοντα τῆς εἰς το]ύς ἐφή[β]ους εἰσκρισεως; P. Amh. 75 (*epicrisis* application, Hermopolis, A.D. 161-8), ἀπὸ γυμνασίου throughout; P.S.I. 164 (return of birth, Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 287), τὸν ἀδελφιδού(ν) μου . . . (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, where both the privileged status (12-drachma poll-tax) and membership of the special grade are indicated; &c. (2) *Metropolite only*: P. Oxy. 478 (*epicrisis* application, A.D. 132), περ(ὶ) ἐπικρίσεως τῶν (τρискаιδεκαετῶν) εἰ ἐξ ἀμφ[ο]τέρων γονέων μητροπολιτῶν (δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσιν δηλῶ . . . γεγενῆναι τὸν τούτου πατέρα . . . μητροπολείτην (δωδεκάδραχμον) δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας . . . καὶ τὸν . . . πατέρα . . . ὁμοίως (δωδεκάδραχμον) δι' ἐπικρίσεω(ς); SB. 7440 (*epicrisis* application, Hermopolis, A.D. 132), εἰ ἔσω (*sic*) ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γ[ο]νέων μητροπολιτῶν ὀκταδράχ[μ]ων. This last example is the more notable because the preceding application (the two formed part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος) was for a boy whose father describes himself as ἀπὸ γυμνασίου) ὀκ[τα]δράχμων. With this may be compared P. Oxy. 984, a census list, the names in which, since it comes from Oxyrhynchus, may no doubt be taken as those of μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι, though the phrase does not seem to occur. Now a few of these are described as ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, obviously marking them off as a special class.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances. That the difference in phraseology is not optional nor due to carelessness is made certain by a Strassburg papyrus quoted by Bickermann in *Archiv*, ix, 35, the relevant portion of which reads as follows: οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως εἰς τοὺς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς προσβαίνοντες ἀφήλικες ἐν [. ὁμοίω]ς καὶ (οἱ) ἀπὸ τάγματος τοῦ γυμνασίου ἐ[.] ἐπικρίνεσθαι, εἰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέω[ν τὸ μητρο]πολιτικὸν γένος σώζουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ γυμ[νασίου, εἰ] ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τάγματός εἰσι. Could there be a clearer demonstration that οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου were not all the privileged metropolites but a special class, a τάγμα, within the general body?

It is to be noted that the gymnasium class was not exempt from poll-tax but paid it at the same rate as other metropolites. The fact is perhaps relevant to the present discussion. Liability to poll-tax has been regarded by many as a mark of inferior status. Segrè would modify this view, remarking that 'il pagamento di un *tributum capitis* può essere il segno di una condizione dediticia transeunte, ma mentre di regola la condizione dediticia scompare prestissimo il *tributum capitis* tende a restare'. This may well be true, though I cannot help wondering whether the Egyptian poll-tax was not merely a Roman adaptation of a tax inherited from the Ptolemies.¹ I should myself be inclined to say not so much that poll-tax was a mark of inferior, as that exemption from it was a mark of superior, status; I mean that a juster statement of the facts would perhaps be to say not that liability to poll-tax was a stigma but that exemption from it was a privilege. At all events, in so far as liability to the tax had any

¹ Cf. my remarks in *JEA* XXIII (1937), 136, against Mlle Préaux (see, too, what she says, in reference to this, in her *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, p. 381¹), and Wallace's view, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 116.

significance, we can hardly discount the payment of it by metropolitans, as the young lady in *Midshipman Easy* excused her unfathered baby, on the ground that it was 'only a little one'. Poll-tax is poll-tax whether the rate be high or low; and all we are entitled to say is that within the poll-tax-paying class there were the grades of rural and metropolitan tax-payers, just as, within the latter grade, there were the grades of *μητροπολίται δωδεκά-(ὀκτά-)δραχμοί* and *οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου*, though in this case both paid at the same rate.

There is probably a further misconception on p. 184, where Segrè, speaking of Alexandria, says that young Alexandrines of the Imperial age, on reaching the age of 14, were enrolled in a tribe and deme and became *ἀπὸ γυμνασίου*, and that 'l'iscrizione al ginnasio implica il riconoscimento della qualità di πολίτης'. Since the ephebes were closely connected with the gymnasium, it is perhaps quibbling to object that it was the ephebate, not inscription in the gymnasium, which made a man a citizen (P. Lond. 1912, 53-7); but it is more serious that Segrè appears to imply the existence at Alexandria of a class known as *οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου* analogous to that in the metropoleis. I know of no cogent evidence for this. Segrè may be thinking of P. Flor. 382 (A.D. 222/3), a papyrus from Hermopolis, in l. 81 of which, in a quotation from a document referring to Alexandria, occur the words *Κορνηλίου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρώνος ἀπὸ γυμνασίου*.¹ Much of this phrase is doubtfully read, though there seems no strong reason to question it; but it does not appear to me to furnish any evidence for the existence of a 'gymnasium class'. All it need mean is that Cornelius Heron was connected with the gymnasium. The class of *οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου* in the metropoleis was created as part of the semi-municipalization of the nome-capitals carried out by Augustus and was presumably designed to provide an *élite* from whom the magistrates could be drawn. Augustus may have taken the idea from Alexandria, but since the ephebate, which involved a connexion with the gymnasium, was the essential qualification for citizenship there, it is difficult to see what place there was for *οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου*.

I come now to Segrè's case for the view that only the rural population were 'Egyptians' and that the metropolitans were 'Greeks'. I will take his arguments in order, so far as I can disentangle them from their context.

(1) In O.G.I.S. 659 (from Denderah, A.D. 1) is a dedication to Augustus by *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ νομοῦ*. This proves nothing: nobody disputes that there was an administrative and fiscal distinction between metropolitans and peasantry; the inscription throws no light on the question whether the former were 'Greeks', the latter 'Egyptians'.

(2) That *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ* were 'Egyptians' is shown by the correspondence of Trajan and Pliny about the physician Harpocras. This is going much too far, in the form in which it is put. Pliny writes of Harpocras (x. 5) 'est enim peregrinae conditionis manumissus a peregrina. Vocatur ipse Harpocras: patronam habuit Thermuthin Theonis, quae iam pridem defuncta est', and (x. 6) 'admonitus sum a peritioribus debuisse me ante ei Alexandrinam civitatem impetrare, deinde Romanam, quoniam

¹ In view of what is said above, note the boy's qualifications for *εἰσκρισις*: *δι' ἧς δε[ί]κνυται [ἐν γρ]αφῶς ὁ τῶν γονέων γάμος, ἐφηβευκ[ό]τος τ[ο]ῦ πατρὸς*.

esset Aegyptius', and finally (x. 10) 'esse autem Harpocran νομοῦ Μεμφιτικοῦ indico tibi'. This proves that Harpocras was an 'Egyptian', like other inhabitants of the nomes, but it does not prove that οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ were in a different political category from metropolites. It does not even prove that Harpocras was not himself a metropolite. Segrè argues that it does, because Trajan asks 'ex quo nomo sit' and Pliny replies 'νομοῦ Μεμφιτικοῦ'. But what else could Trajan ask or Pliny reply? The nome-capitals were not technically πολεῖς, *civitates*, so that Trajan could hardly ask *ex qua civitate sit*. Administratively, for fiscal and some other purposes, there was a difference, within Egypt; but Trajan in Rome was not interested in that: all he wished to know was which nome was Harpocras' *origo*.

(3) Bickermann's argument that the metropolites were subject 'al diritto territoriale greco-egizio come gli indigeni' has no weight because, 'a parte alcuni privilegi degli alessandrini e degli abitanti delle città greche, tutti gli egiziani, anche gli ἀπὸ γυμνασίου della metropoli sono soggetti al diritto greco-egizio che nell' età imperiale ha un carattere essenzialmente territoriale' (the italics are mine). Surely this is going a long way to meet Bickermann. It does not seem to me to controvert his thesis.

(4) The ἀπὸ γυμνασίου constitute a τάγμα (P. Oxy. 1202, 18), as do the Egyptians (Gnomon, § 55). Τάγμα merely means a class or category of any kind: οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου were a τάγμα as distinct from the ordinary metropolites, the exegetae (e.g.) were a τάγμα as distinct from the other magistrates (P. Oxy. 891, 15), the 'Egyptians' (whatever classes of the population the term included) were a τάγμα as distinct from Romans and Alexandrines. Hence the argument is quite ineffective.

(5) As already said above (p. 40) it is strange that Mysians, etc., should have had a higher political status than the semi-Greek metropolites. This argument has force only if it has been proved that 'Egyptians' were *dediticii*. It can be neglected for the moment.

(6) The term Ἕλληνες is found referring to the Greeks of the χώρα.¹ O.G.I.S. 709 (A.D. 149-54) is a dedication by (a) ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ (b) Ἐρμούπολις ἡ μεγάλη καὶ (c) ἡ βουλὴ ἡ Ἀντινοέων νέων Ἑλλήνων καὶ (d) οἱ ἐν τῷ Δέλτα τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ (e) οἱ τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν νομὸν οἰκοῦντες Ἕλληνες. Segrè classes (d) and (e) with the 6475 'Greek men' of the Arsinoite nome as an ethnic group, but it seems more likely that by (e) was meant, as Dittenberger suggests, primarily Ptolemais and by (d) primarily Naucratis, but (possibly) that other Greeks living in the Thebaid and the Delta were associated with them. We do not know that these Greeks were natives of Egypt, not just Greeks who had settled there for trade or other purposes. It is to be noted, too, that no mention is made of the 'Seven Nomes and the Arsinoite nome' where, according to Segrè, 'Greeks' were to be found.

The '6475 Greek men' of the Arsinoite nome are perhaps the best support for Segrè's thesis, but the nature of this group is still very obscure. Were they identical with the κάτοικοι? Presumably, but this is an inference, not a demonstrated fact. Did they

¹ Segrè writes that 'i greci della χώρα che non erano né cittadini di città greche, né metropolitani, costituiscono il gruppo dei κάτοικοι'. It may be pointed out that the term κάτοικοι does not occur in the Oxyrhynchite nome, and indeed is mainly Arsinoite.

correspond to the gymnasium class of other nomes? Probably, but this, too, is not securely proved. If they did they should, like οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, have paid poll-tax at the reduced rate (24 drachmae at Arsinoe); but their liability to poll-tax cannot be established. They were presumably an old ethnic group which lingered on *dem Namen nach* into the Roman period, but their position is too uncertain to form a secure basis for argument.¹

In the second part of his article Segrè has at one point to deal with the famous petition of Dionysia (P. Oxy. 237). Dionysia was the daughter of a gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, hence a metropolite ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. Yet she was apparently subject to the Egyptian law which permitted a father to separate his daughter from her husband even against her will. Segrè considers that she was an 'Egyptian'.² His reason is that her mother was an 'Egyptian', but it is not clear on what evidence he relies for this statement; I cannot find in P. Oxy. 237 anything to justify it except that the daughter was subject to an Egyptian law. Even if the mother was in fact an 'Egyptian', does that necessarily affect the status of the daughter? As is well known, Hadrian gave the Antinoites *conubium* with the 'Egyptians',³ and the natural assumption is that this was because many of his colonists were metropolites, who already intermarried with 'Egyptians' but would find such marriages debarred when, on becoming citizens of Antinoopolis, they acquired the status of 'Greeks', unless some special provision was made. If Αἰγυπτίους includes metropolites Segrè's contention goes by the board; if it does not, at least Antinoopolites, and presumably *a fortiori* metropolites could intermarry with 'Egyptians' without affecting the status of their children; yet Dionysia, daughter of an ex-gymnasiarch, was apparently subject to the Egyptian law.

It is true that Dionysia was the offspring of an ἄγραφος γάμος. Now in P. Flor. 382 referred to above, an application for *epicrisis*, reference is made to the boy's ἀπαρχή, δι' ἧς δε[ί]κνυται [ἐν]γραφος ὁ τῶν γονέων γάμος, as if this were a relevant factor; but this hardly proves that an ἐγγραφος γάμος was essential to Alexandrian citizenship, and in any case we cannot safely argue from Alexandria to the metropoleis.

I do not feel then that Segrè has at all invalidated the arguments by which Bickermann convinced many scholars (but not all) that all native-born inhabitants of Egypt, except Romans, the citizens of the Greek cities, and (just possibly) the '6475 Greek men' of the Arsinoite nome were 'Egyptians'. I have deferred consideration of his fifth argument because it depends for any force it has on the view that 'Egyptians' were *dediticii*, and to this question I now turn.

¹ The Arsinoite nome was in many ways peculiar. It was larger than the average nome, being divided into three *μερίδες*, each at one time with a separate strategus; it was in large part reclaimed by Ptolemy II, who, in connexion with his scheme, settled there an unusually large number of 'Greek' military cleruchs; it was probably more prosperous than other nomes, for its rates of poll-tax (general rate 48 dr., privileged rate 24 dr.) are the highest known to us. Hence it would not be very surprising to find that its katoikoi enjoyed an exemption from poll-tax denied to their 'opposite number', the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, in other nomes.

² He writes 'non so se le leggi egiziane, raccolte in un periodo più antico e confermate da testimoni, si potessero applicare anche ai metropolitani'. This seems inconsistent with what he said under argument 3 above; but probably he distinguishes between Egyptian and Graeco-Egyptian laws.

³ Wilcken, *Chrest.* 27, 18-20, ἡ ἐπιγαμία ἐδόθη ἡμῶν πρὸς Αἰγυπτ[τ]ίου[s] κατ' ἐξαίρετον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ.

His view is supported by a combination of four pieces of evidence, which had better be quoted in full:

(1) Ulp. xx. 14-15, 'Latinus Iunianus, item is qui dediticiorum numero est, testamentum facere non potest; Latinus quidem, quoniam nominatim lege Iunia prohibitus est; is autem qui dediticiorum numero est, quoniam nec quasi civis Romanus testari potest, cum sit peregrinus, nec quasi peregrinus, quoniam nullius certae civitatis civis est ut secundum leges civitatis suae testetur.'

(2) Gaius i. 26, 'Pessima itaque libertas eorum [freedmen *ex lege Aelia Sentia*] est qui dediticiorum numero sunt; nec ulla lege aut senatus consulto aut constitutione principali aditus illis ad civitatem Romanam datur.'

(3) The correspondence of Trajan and Pliny about Harpocras.

(4) Jos., c. *Apion*. II, 41, εἰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας Ἀπίων, πανσάσθω λέγων αὐτὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα· γεννηθεὶς γάρ, ὡς προεῖπον, ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πῶς ἂν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς εἴη τῆς κατὰ δόσιν πολιτείας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἠξίωκεν, ἀναιρουμένης; καίτοι μόνοις Αἰγυπτίοις οἱ κύριοι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς οἰκουμένης μεταλαμβάνειν ἡστυοσοῦν πολιτείας ἀπειρήκασιν (cf. too 2, 72).

The argument in a nutshell is: *Dediticii* were *nullius certae civitatis cives*; 'Egyptians' were *nullius certae civitatis cives*; ergo, the 'Egyptians' were *dediticii*. They may indeed have been so, but this cannot be proved by so faulty a syllogism. It may be pointed out that Ulpian is dealing not with *dediticii* as such but with freedmen *ex lege Aelia Sentia*; the reference to the *dediticii* is incidental. But as a matter of fact, as is pointed out to me by Mr. Last, to whom I am greatly indebted for his kindness in reading through this article and making some valuable comments, Segrè completely misunderstands Gaius. What Gaius means is not that any law, *senatus consultum*, or *constitutio* which purported to give the Roman citizenship to *dediticii* would be 'in the legal sense bad' but simply that at the time when Gaius wrote there was in fact no law, etc., which provided to the freedmen *ex lege Aelia Sentia* an avenue to the citizenship; as Poste puts it in his rendering (*Gai Institutiones*, 4th ed., rev. E. A. Whittuck, Oxford, 1904, p. 23), 'nor does any statute, senatusconsult, or constitution open to them a way of obtaining Roman citizenship'. Josephus' statement occurs in a controversial tract; and even as an historian Josephus was not always painfully accurate. What exactly does Josephus mean here? That 'Egyptians' could not acquire any citizenship? But Apion *had* acquired that of Alexandria, and Josephus does not seriously question his right to it; his statement here is a mere *argumentum ad hominem*. That the Egyptian metropoleis were not *πόλεις* in the technical sense is true; but the suggestion that the Romans had deprived them of what they had never had, or had refused their desire to acquire it, is typically loose and misleading: Augustus' innovations had in fact brought the metropoleis nearer to municipal status than they had ever been.¹

The case for the status of *dediticii* is much more convincingly put by A. H. M. Jones in his admirable article, *Another Interpretation of the 'Constitutio Antoniniana'* in *Journ. Rom. Stud.* xxvi (1936), 223-35.² He admits that this cannot be deduced from

¹ Mr. Last refers me to Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, 241, 'Even the acquiring of better burgess-rights was forbidden to the Egyptians', with the footnote, quoting the two Josephus passages and adding, 'Individual exceptions are not thereby excluded'. I am not convinced that there is anything more in Josephus' statements than the fact that 'Egyptians' were not taken as such (individual exceptions apart) into the citizen body of Alexandria and that the metropoleis were not formed into *πόλεις* on the Greek model.

² Strangely, Segrè (p. 188²⁹) says that 'Jones . . . segue l'opinione generale errata che gli egiziani non erano dediticii perchè ricevono la cittadinanza romana'. This is completely to misunderstand Jones's argument.

Ulpian's words, but he nevertheless thinks that *nullius certae civitatis civem esse* was 'a general mark of *dediticii*'. The 'Egyptians' were *nullius certae civitatis cives*; they could not, as such, acquire Roman citizenship, so that Harpocras had first to become an Alexandrian; and he suggests, following Stroux, that 'assigning freedmen with a criminal record to the class of *dediticii* was a means of debarring them from the citizenship, and that therefore it was a general rule applicable to all *dediticii* that they could not obtain the Roman citizenship'.

Jones's argument has impressed but not really convinced me. I am by no means sure that Ulpian's *nullius certae civitatis civis* is strictly applicable to an 'Egyptian' metropolite. Granted, the metropolis was not technically a *civitas*; but it enjoyed, since Augustus, a kind of shadow-constitution, with *ἀρχοντες* and even, later at least, some sort of assembly. And metropolites most certainly did make legal wills. Jones suggests (p. 230³⁰) that they did so 'under administrative rules enacted by the Roman government for particular categories of *dediticii*'. That is possible, but it is a pure hypothesis framed to account for the fact that these supposed *dediticii* did make wills, and that fact may well give us pause before we accept Jones's view.¹ We are left, too, with the difficulty of supposing that the metropolites, hellenized in culture and many of them partly Greek in blood, the upper class passing through the ephebate and the education of the gymnasium, educated sometimes at the university of Alexandria,² and reading the Greek epic, lyric, and dramatic poets, Plato and Aristotle, the historians and the orators, and occupying such magistracies as those of gymnasiarch, exegete, eutheniarch, and the like, were in a worse status legally and politically than the country folk of more backward provinces. Segrè feels this so strongly that he attempts, in my opinion unsuccessfully as I have shown, to distinguish between metropolites and 'Egyptians'; Jones suggests that the reforms of Severus had caused a change in the position of the metropolites, who ceased to be *dediticii*. Again this is possible; but again it is quite unproved. In any case, the hypothesis merely restricts the difficulty to the period before the Severan reforms: till then the metropolites, with their Hellenic culture, *κοινὸν* of *ἀρχοντες*, and *demos*, were, on this view, merely *dediticii*.

Jones's view does not depend on, but it is connected with, his theory as to the meaning of P. Giss. 40, 8-9, and to this point I now come.

From the first publication of the papyrus I could never feel happy about the interpretation put on these lines by Meyer, which supposed a quite extraordinary clumsiness of drafting either in the Latin original or in the Greek translation. It is now generally accepted that the edict gave the citizenship to all inhabitants of the Empire and that the

¹ I am again indebted to Mr. Last for a valuable note. Jones (who does not fall into Segrè's error as regards Gaius I. 26, remarking rightly that 'no regular avenues were provided for them [the *liberti dediticii*] . . . to acquire the citizenship') infers (p. 231) from the rules for *erroris probatio* (Gaius I. 67-8; Ulpian VII. 4), with the special provision as regards persons who were *dediticiorum numero*, that *dediticii* in general, not merely freedmen, were excluded from the citizenship. Last writes that Jones 'was quite right to mention *erroris probatio*; but all that is implied by Gaius I. 67-8 and Ulp. VII. 4 is that *dediticii* were denied benefit of a rule which otherwise in certain circumstances would have had the effect of more or less automatically making them *cives Romani*'; a natural safeguard, he adds, if we remember that the class of *dediticii* contained many people with a criminal record. These passages, then, do not prove that *dediticii* were excluded from citizenship in the sense that no means existed for making them citizens.

² See P. Oxy. XVIII. 2190.

limiting clause refers not to the grant but to the provision, whatever it be, which follows it. Segrè continues to accept, in substance, Meyer's [μ]ένοντος [παντός γένους πολιτευμ]άτων; Jones accepts Wilhelm's [μ]ένοντος [οὐδενός ἐκτὸς τῶν πολιτευμ]άτων. The fact that two such different supplements can be proposed, with such good arguments, should warn us against over-confidence. A restoration of a clause so imperfect can be rendered more or less plausible by arguments drawn from other evidence or from general probability, but it cannot safely be used, as has sometimes been done, to support further constructions.

Segrè's explanation is that this clause was necessary because even by imperial edict (*constitutione principali*) *dediticii* could not receive the citizenship. This point has been met above; but it may be worth while to point out besides that if that was the intention of the clause, it was very clumsy draftsmanship to word the grant in this way: 'I give the citizenship to all the inhabitants of the empire, maintaining every kind of status except that of *dediticii*.' Surely the abolition of the *dediticius* status should have come first. It might be suggested that this had been done in a preceding edict, but in that case it seems a little otiose to insert the exception here. And in fact, though existing *dediticii* might cease to be *dediticii*, the status itself was not abolished until Justinian. Yet, if we take the words literally, their intention certainly seems to be not merely to remove a disability of existing *dediticii* but to abolish the status as such.

Jones's view of the alternative restoration, which gives it a relevance lacking before, is that the clause was intended to enact that 'persons hitherto excluded from local citizenship be enrolled in the local citizen registers'; but, in Egypt, it was thought desirable 'to prevent cities from claiming as their citizens *dediticii* who were geographically their neighbours or administratively in some sense subject to them'. He cites the important lawsuit published in *JEA* XXI (1935), 224-47, concerning an attempt to conscribe villagers for municipal offices. The metropolites had now (on Jones's theory) ceased to be *dediticii*, the rural population retained its old status, and there was a danger that the *C.A.* might be made an excuse for forcing upon them municipal liabilities.

This is an ingenious and plausible theory, but it is not wholly convincing. I have already pointed out the difficulty of believing that 'Egyptians' were *dediticii*; the change of status effected for metropolites by the Severan reforms is a pure hypothesis; and the attempts of the metropoleis to force villagers into municipal magistracies and liturgies are amply explained by the economic crisis, as Severus' prohibitive constitution, cited on the side of the villagers, by a knowledge that exemptions from liturgical liabilities were continually infringed by hard-pressed metropoleis (witness the complaints of Antinoites on this score), and that villagers were already quite sufficiently burdened by their local obligations. It may, too, well be asked how far the nome-inhabitants were during the third century ἐκτὸς τῶν πολιτευμάτων (in Jones's sense). They were by the constitution of Severus exempt from municipal magistracies and liturgies, and it was not till the beginning of the fourth century that the metropolis became in the proper sense a *civitas* or the nome territory its ἐνορία; but nome and metropolis were 'considerably mixed up', the metropolites being responsible for much of the nome finance

and administration. Nor did the advocate of the villagers cite the *C.A.*: his trump card was the constitution of Severus, fortified not by any enactment of Caracalla but by decisions of all subsequent prefects.

The linguistic factor does not help in a decision. The word *πολίτευμα* (on which see especially W. Ruppel in *Philologus*, LXXXII, 1927, 268-312, 433-54; summary of conclusions on pp. 453 f.) may well have either of the rival senses proposed by Jones and Segrè. In the papyri it normally means the military or semi-military groups, or the Jewish community at Alexandria, but the sense 'Stadtgemeinde' which Jones's view requires is seen in several inscriptions from various parts of the Hellenistic world cited by Ruppel on pp. 433 ff.

In the matter of relevance to the context Segrè's theory seems to me to have the advantage. To stipulate when making a general grant of citizenship that existing attachments were not thereby affected—that the Roman remained a Roman, the Alexandrian an Alexandrian, and the Alexandrian Jew a member of his *πολίτευμα*—is a natural, perhaps even an essential, proviso; but to enact that persons hitherto excluded from citizenship of the various cities should 'be enrolled in the local citizen registers' is an independent measure, having no necessary connexion with the grant of Roman citizenship; and to insert this casually, as a kind of parenthesis, is a somewhat strange proceeding. This seems to me a grave objection to Jones's view.¹

I come now to Segrè's last point, that the 'Aurelii' or new citizens under the *C.A.* were citizens *sui generis*. This, combined with his theory as to the meaning of *πολίτευμα*, might account for the continued payment of poll-tax in Egypt after the *C.A.* and for the issue, even after this enactment, of *diplomata honestae missionis* in the old form. No doubt many of these veterans were barbarians who had been taken into the Roman army, but this is not obvious in some cases, e.g. *CIL* x. 3335 (A.D. 247), T. Fl(avio) T. fil. Alexandro n(atione) Ital(ico); *CIL* III, p. 893 (A.D. 230), M. Aurelio Deciani fil(io) Deciano colonia Maluese ex Dacia.

Segrè's view finds some support in P. Ryl. II. 109 (A.D. 235), where Aurelius Hermias, son of Ptolemy, is described as 'Ρωμαῖος καὶ Ἑρμοπολίτης).

The question of the poll-tax is, however, somewhat baffling. It would be fairly easy to find a reasonable explanation if either poll-tax had ceased to be levied after the *C.A.* or were as well attested after it as before, but the actual facts are less clear-cut. I called attention to them in a review of Mlle Préaux's *Ostraca grecs . . . Wilbour* in *JEA* XXIII (1937), 135-7. I there suggested that the references to poll-tax after the *C.A.*, which I cited, might perhaps be supplemented. I have not undertaken any fresh search for instances, but the following, repeated from *JEA* XXIII, are clear: SB. 5677 (uncertain locality, A.D. 222), λαογρ(αφίας) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) α (ἔτους) ιβ (12 dr. was the privileged rate at Oxyrhynchus); P. Ross.-Georg. v, 20, 5 (Heracleopolite nome, A.D. 223), κατ' ἄνδρα λαογρ(αφίας). The first of these papyri is a tax-receipt, the second a return; the first is from a metropolis, the second from a village. These were the only direct references to poll-tax I found in my (not exhaustive) research in 1937. Later indirect

¹ A further (and fatal) objection to this view, so far as it depends on the wording of Wilhelm's restoration, is pointed out to me by Mr. C. H. Roberts: the supplement is certainly too long for the available space.

references were P. Oxy. 1157, 14 f. (late third cent.), *ὅτι τὸ ἐπικεφάλαιον ἀπαιτοῦσιν* (assuming that *ἐ.* = *λαογραφία*), and such implications of poll-tax as *δωδεκάδραχμος ἀπὸ γυμνασίου* (e.g. *PSI* 164, 14, A.D. 287); but it was justly remarked by a critic that such honorific descriptions of a privileged class may have outlasted the actual levying of poll-tax.

S. L. Wallace in his *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 134, does not add seriously to the above evidence. He refers to three receipts for *λαογραφία* later than A.D. 212: these, specified on p. 413, are SB. 5677 cited above, O. Theb. 86 (A.D. 213), O. Strass. 118. I had disregarded O. Theb. 86, as this instance, so soon after the *C.A.*, might be due to delay in adapting the local arrangements to the new state of things; O. Strass. 118 was dated 'Ende des 2. oder Anfang des 3. Jahrh. n. Chr.' by its editor, and I therefore took no notice of it. Wallace states that Tait would date this in Gordian's reign; but on p. 413, note 86, he points out a difficulty, not, I think, serious. The fact that the tax-payer is an Aurelius puts the ostrakon after the *C.A.*

It is a poor harvest in all conscience. Thus we are faced by the fact, on the one hand, that the *C.A.* did not put an end to the payment of poll-tax in Egypt, even by metropolitans, on the other, that the abundant stream of poll-tax receipts suddenly dries up, and that it is hard to muster the scantiest band of references to this tax later than A.D. 212. What is the explanation? The increasing reliance on extraordinary levies like the *annona*, which tended to encroach on all other forms of taxation and was eventually made by Diocletian the foundation of his fiscal reforms, might be alleged as a cause were the change more gradual, but it seems too sudden to be very satisfactorily explained in this way.

This article has grown longer and more discursive than I intended it to be, and it may be useful to summarize my conclusions.

(1) Segrè's suggestion that the *ἀπὸ γυμνασίου* class was coextensive with the privileged metropolitans is certainly wrong; it was an *élite* within the main body but assessed at the same (reduced) rate for poll-tax.

(2) It is not likely, despite one apparent piece of evidence, that there was a special *ἀπὸ γυμνασίου* class at Alexandria.

(3) Segrè's attempt to reverse Bickermann's theory as to the nature of the 'Egyptians' does not seem to me successful. Metropolitans and nome-inhabitants, though assessed for poll-tax at different rates, were probably alike 'Egyptians'.

(4) The case is less clear with regard to the question whether 'Egyptians' were *dediticii*. Personally I incline to doubt it, and my doubts have been strengthened by the considerations to which Last has called my attention.

(5) The *C.A.* gave the citizenship to all the inhabitants of the empire. No restoration of the clause following the grant can as yet be regarded as established. As between Jones's and Segrè's theories, I am inclined, though not very decidedly, to prefer Segrè's; but it is not free from difficulties, and in particular I do not believe his suggestion that the excepting clause was designed to make possible the acquisition of citizenship by the 'Egyptians'.

(6) There is a good deal to be said for Segrè's view that the Aurelii were citizens *sui generis*, but it does not clear up the as yet unsolved problems of poll-tax in the third century.

NUBIANS IN THE TOMB OF AMUNEDJEH

FROM NOTES BY N. M. DAVIES

THE scene here (pl. V) reproduced from Tomb No. 84 at Thebes forms the counterpart of the Syrians studied in the last volume of the *Journal* (xxvii, 96-8) and occupies a similar position facing them on the same west wall, but to the south of the central door. Thus the two pictures balance one another. As may be seen from Porter and Moss, *Topogr. Bibl.* 1, 114 (4), previous publications have not been completely wanting, but those in works generally accessible amply justify the present repetition, where, moreover, the description will be more complete. The surface of the wall is in very bad condition. Fires in the tomb have burned the yellow to red, the blue to a slaty grey, while the blacks have disintegrated into a mere buff stain. Hence the colours noted are somewhat uncertain, and the outlines may in places be those of preliminary sketches.

The large figure of Amunedjeh standing behind the Nubian tribute-bearers has been completely destroyed, so that only the latter remain to be considered. These are distributed in three registers, of the lowest of which but little remains. At the right end of all the registers are gifts piled on the ground, while bearers of other gifts advance in procession behind them. The hieroglyphic headings and shorter legends are in solid blue, and have been collated with the copies published by Sethe.¹

The TOP REGISTER bears the following words as descriptive title:²

Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, smelling the earth before the Good God. Coming on the part of (the chieftains) of Yetr,³ their tribute on their backs. Presenting it to His Majesty.

The pile of tribute at the beginning of this row comprises the remains of a large skin, a multi-coloured basket with red bags upon it, and another basket with red and black chequer containing a substance with red spots on the pink mass—possibly incense, which is represented in this way in the Punt scenes at Dēr el-Baḥri. Next comes a green monkey with red face and white ruff seated on a tall red stool; the circle at the top of the stool is really the hollow at the edge of which the monkey sits, see the stool carried by the fourth man in the second register.

All the men in the top register except the last have red bodies, but hair, dress, and other accoutrements differ considerably and must be separately described. The leader, who presents in either hand a giraffe's tail (labelled simply 'tail'), is somewhat unusually outlined with white, has blue hair and a red sporran to his skirt. The man next him, with a white necklace around his neck, has black curls on a light red scalp; in one hand he holds a long wand or staff originally black, but now buff-coloured with red marks, and with the other grasps a log of black ebony resting upon his shoulder. The third

¹ *Urkunden*, iv, 947-50.

² The translations are contributed by the compiler of these notes.

³ A not certainly identified region of Nubia or Ethiopia; see Gauthier, *Dict. geogr.*, 1, 114, where this example is not quoted.

Nubian, with blue hair and white neck ornament, carries a tusk over his shoulder and a leopard (?) skin in the crook of his front arm; in the hand behind him he holds a tail. The centre of the register is occupied by a giraffe (legend, *mimi* 'giraffe') with a rope attached to one of the forelegs, and having on its back a blue or green monkey with red face; the body of the giraffe shows a yellow ground covered with red leaf-like spots. A giraffe also with monkey, but this time climbing up its neck, is the most conspicuous feature in the corresponding scene in the tomb of Rekhmirē (No. 100),¹ where also we find the monkey on the stool, and further the panther and cynocephalous ape seen in our second register. Thus there can be no doubt that both registers in the tomb of AmunedjeḤ have been freely imitated from the tomb of Rekhmirē, though by an inferior artist. The man in charge of the giraffe has dark red curls on a light red ground, and again a log of ebony over his shoulder. The fifth man resembles him in the latter respect, but carries a wand in the other hand; that it is a wand and once was black is indicated by the legend 'wand (*ḥsw*) of ebony', with the same word that is applied to gold and silver-tipped wands in the tomb of Kenamūn.² The last man in the register differs from the rest in that he probably had a black skin and that he wears a skirt, not of linen, but of bull's hide with red markings on white; the black of the body has turned into yellow, but traces remain of the white outlines. This man bears a 'tail' (top red, the rest black) in one hand, while with the other he holds two elephant tusks that rest on his shoulder, and from the ends of which dangles a fox's skin.

SECOND REGISTER. The band of inscription at the top of the scene reads as follows:

How great is thy might, victorious king, sovereign beloved of Rē. He has placed the fear [of thee] in all lands, and dread of thee in all foreign countries. And lo, we are beneath thy sandals.

Here the tribute piled up at the right end is more extensive and better preserved. First there are tusks, ebony logs, and a basket of 'rings of gold'—legend to be restored as further on. The substance to the extreme right at bottom is solid red, unlike that conjectured above to be incense which here recurs below the gold ingots and rings in the blue and red chequered basket at the top of the second row. Beneath this we see again the red substance on another chequered basket, and lastly six white sacks.

As in the top register all the men except the last have red bodies. The first in the row has dark red curls on a light red scalp. He holds a chequer-patterned basket (blue and red on yellow) heaped with 'rings of gold', as the label describes them, and a skin hangs over his bent arm. The legend in front of him appears to read: 'Chieftain(s) of the land of Nubia'³ and must apply to all persons in the procession. The second man, with blue hair, carries ostrich 'eggs' in a blue and red chequered basket, and leads a green monkey with red hands, feet, and face, and standing on its hind-legs (legend *gʿif* 'monkey'). Green also is the large cynocephalous ape striding alongside of the third man, but restrained by means of a rope in the hand of the fourth. As in the tomb of Rekhmirē, the ape's green locks are of thicker paint, this doubtless intended to give the effect of relief; feet, face, and hinder quarters are red. The third man, dark red with blue

¹ See Virey, *Tombeau de Rekhmara*, pl. 6; Davies, *Paintings from the tomb of Rekh-mi-rē*, pls. 6, 7.

² Davies, *Tomb of Ken-amūn*, pl. 18 = Leps., *Denkm.* III, 64, a.

³ The *s* of *Nḥs(y)* is missing; for *ṭ Nḥsy* see *Wb.* II, 303, 8.



NUBIANS IN THE TOMB OF AMUNEDJEH. Thebes, tomb No. 84

A BILINGUAL DEDICATION FROM ALEXANDRIA

By MARCUS N. TOD

ON July 5, 1941, Captain D. W. Stather Hunt wrote to me from the Head-quarters of the Western Desert Force, telling me of a bilingual inscription which he had seen in Alexandria and suggesting that, as he himself was likely for some time to lack both the leisure and the books needed for its adequate study, I should publish it on the basis of the photograph which he enclosed and of the full description and notes contained in his letter. The text, I find, has been repeatedly published; nevertheless, in view of its interest, its perfect preservation, and the fact that no previous publication gives even a facsimile of it, I reproduce here (pl. VI, top) the photograph supplied to Captain Hunt by the courtesy of Messrs. Horowitz, jewellers, of Alexandria, in whose custody the inscription now is and who kindly afforded Captain Hunt every facility for studying the original and all the available information about its discovery. To them and to Captain Hunt my thanks are due for a large part of what follows.

The inscription is on an oblong leaf of gold (pure gold, according to Mr. Horowitz), measuring 11.45×5.3 cm., and consists of three lines of Greek followed by two of hieroglyphs. The average height of the Greek letters is 0.3 to 0.35 cm., of the hieroglyphs 1.1 cm.; they consist of dots in relief, struck with a pointed instrument on the back of the leaf.

The Greek text runs thus:

Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἰσιδος θεῶν Σωτήρων
καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης
Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων.

To the fault of the engraver are due the substitution of *καί* for *καὶ* and the omission of the second *ι* of *Ἰσιδος* in l. 1. The writing as a whole is somewhat irregular and careless; *ο* is markedly smaller than the other letters, *ΙΔ* are ligatured in l. 1 and *ΙΔΙ* in l. 2.

The plaque was discovered in 1885 by the architect and contractor M. G. Lumbroso, in the course of excavations made in connexion with the reconstruction of the Bourse, and is now the property of his son. It was hidden in a cavity under one of the corner-stones of a Greco-Egyptian building, no doubt a temple, together with three other plaques—of silver, bronze, and greenish porcelain respectively—bearing the same inscription; these other three were in a poor state of preservation and appear to have been subsequently lost.¹ The first account of the discovery and edition of the inscription appeared in an article dated July 6, 1885 (*Rec. Trav.* VII, 140 f.), by G. Maspero, who concluded that the temple in question was 'dedicated to Osorhapi, to Isis and to the two Saviour gods, by the two gods Philometor, King Ptolemy II and Queen Arsinoe'.

¹ Mahaffy's account substitutes 'the new bank' for 'the Bourse' and 'stone' for 'greenish porcelain' (*Empire of the Ptolemies*, 73).

On this edition were based the observations of A. Wiedemann (*Philologus*, XLVII, 345), Néroutos-Bey (*L'ancienne Alexandrie*, 21 f.), who accidentally omitted from the text the words *θεῶν Σωτήρων* and mistakenly asserted that Maspero attributed the dedication to Ptolemy V and Arsinoe, and H. Brugsch (*Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, v, 917), who speaks of the plaque as found 'in the foundations of an ancient temple close to the modern Bourse'. In 1895 J. P. Mahaffy gave an account (*The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 73 f.), derived directly from M. Lumbroso, of the place and circumstances of the discovery, together with a transcript of the Greek inscription made by M. Wilbour; he could neither see the plaque itself, 'which is now, I hear, in Paris', nor secure a photograph of it. He corrected the interpretation given by Maspero, pointing out that the phrase *θεῶν Σωτήρων* relates to Sarapis and Isis, not to Ptolemy I Soter and Berenice I,¹ and that the Ptolemy and Arsinoe of ll. 2, 3 were Ptolemy IV Philopator and Arsinoe III; but he mistakenly attributed to Maspero the view that our inscription contains 'the dedication of the temple to Sarapis by the first Ptolemy'. Two years later M. L. Strack republished the Greek text (*Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, 239, No. 66), which, he said, had been 'offered to the Louvre for purchase, according to a statement of Botti in the *Rivista egiziana* of November, 1894'. Still more recently the inscription has appeared in F. Preisigke's *Sammelbuch*, 2136, as 'found on the site of the old temple of Serapis', with a translation² by Spiegelberg of the hieroglyphic text, and in H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, IV, 271, No. xxxiii.

The place of discovery leaves us in no doubt that the four plaques, of which that before us is the sole survivor, formed the foundation-deposit of some building. That may have been the celebrated Sarapeum,³ but this seems improbable since the accession of Ptolemy IV falls in 222 B.C. whereas the foundation of the temple is assigned to Ptolemy I or even to Alexander the Great and the chronographers date the coming of Sarapis from Sinope to Alexandria in 286 B.C. Nevertheless, the site on which the plaque came to light, reported to Captain Hunt by the discoverer's son to be that of the Cercle Mohammed Ali and Cook's Office in the Rue Rosette, recently renamed the Rue Fouad, is usually held to be, or at least to lie close to, that of the Sarapeum, so that Captain Hunt's conjecture that the plaque commemorates the construction and dedication of some part of the imposing complex which formed the Sarapeum, perhaps the 'Daughter Library' lying within the temple-precinct,⁴ though incapable of demonstration, demands careful consideration, even though Tzetzes assigns the foundation of the 'Daughter Library' to Ptolemy II Philadelphus. In his discussion of the large and

¹ The phrase *θεοὶ Σωτήρες* is frequently used to denote Ptolemy I and Berenice I, e.g. in *Sammelbuch*, 6261.7, 17, 6283 a 4, 28, b 8, 6286.2, 6287.2, 6289.2, 7172.35, 37, 7188.2, but if this were its reference here the conjunction *καί* would be added after *Ἰσίδος*. For examples of the use of *θεοὶ Σωτήρες* in relation to Sarapis and Isis see below.

² This runs: 'Gehörig dem Osiris-Hapi und der Isis, den Götter-Rettern, und dem König von Ober- und Unterägypten Ptulmis, ewig lebend, von Isis geliebt, und der Fürstin Arsini, den beiden vaterliebenden Göttern'. A translation by Professor Battiscombe Gunn will be found at the close of this article. Preisigke mistakenly asserts that the hieroglyphic inscription stands above the Greek.

³ See A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici*, I, 140 ff., with a full list of ancient references to the Sarapeum and a bibliography of modern discussions of it.

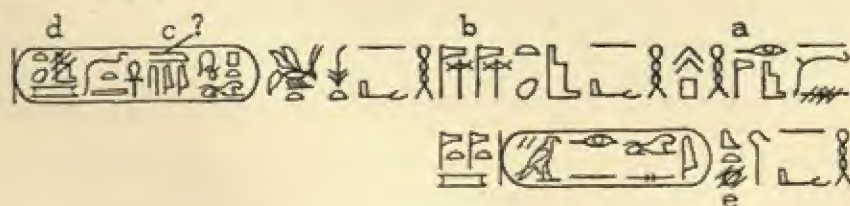
⁴ See Calderini, op. cit., 143, E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, 96, Dziatzko in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, III, 410 f.

varied foundation deposits found in the Great Temenos at Naucratis, Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, besides mentioning the present example and 'a literary record of a foundation deposit by Amenhotep III, when he placed a stone with the cycle of the twelve Theban gods engraved on it, beneath a temple at Thebes', cites a gold plate found between two vitrified opaque tiles, blue and green, in the ruins of Canopus and sent in 1818 by Mehemet Ali to Sir Sydney Smith; it bore the inscription *Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ βασιλίσσα Βερενίκη ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τὸ τέμενος Ὀσίρει*, recording the foundation of a precinct sacred to Osiris by Ptolemy III Euergetes (247-222 B.C.).¹

The closest parallels I have found to the formula of our inscription are a dedication from Alexandria, *Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης (sic) Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων Σαράπιδι καὶ Ἰσιδι Σωτῆρσιν Ἀρχέπολις Κόσμου Λεονατεύς* (*Sammelbuch*, 597), and another from Philae, *Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ Πτολεμαίω τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῶν Σαράπιδι Ἰσιδι Σωτῆρσι Σωκράτης Ἀπολλοδαύρου Λο[κρός]* (*OGI* 87). Another inscription from Philae opens with the phrase [*Σ*]αράπι[δι Ἰ]σιδι θεοῖς Σωτῆρσιν [*ι*]ν (*Sammelbuch*, 4076), and a third-century votive from Abu-el-Matamir runs *Σαράπιδι Διονύσωι Ἰσιδι Ἀφροδίτῃ θεοῖς Σωτῆρσι καὶ Πολυφόροις Νικαγόρας Ἀριστονίκου Ἀλεξανδρεύς* (*Sammelbuch*, 5863). We also possess a dedication by five Alexandrians *ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατέρων (sic) Σαράπιδι Ἰσιδι* (Strack, *op. cit.*, 237, No. 55), one by an Acarnanian *βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω καὶ βασιλίσσῃ Ἀρσινόῃ θεοῖς Φιλοπάτορσι καὶ Σαράπιδι καὶ Ἰσιδι* (*OGI* 82), and a third by an *οἰκονόμος τῶν κατὰ Ναύκρατιν* set up [*ὑπὲρ β*]ασιλέως Πτολεμαίου *θε[οῦ μ]εγάλου Φιλοπάτορος Σωτῆρος καὶ Νικηφόρου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαίου[ν] Ἰσιδι Σαράπιδι Ἀπόλλωνι* (*OGI* 89), but in these Sarapis and Isis lack the title *θεοὶ Σωτῆρες*.²

Professor Battiscombe Gunn, to whom I submitted the photograph, kindly sends me the revised copy of the hieroglyphic text reproduced below, together with the following notes and translation.

'My copy of the hieroglyphic text, made from Mr. Tod's photograph, differs in details from those of Maspero (*Rec. Trav.*, VII, 141), Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, 917), and Gauthier (*Livre des Rois*, IV, 271).



NOTES

a. M., B., G. but seems clear on photograph.

b. M. (*nṯrwi mnḥwt*, as though = *θεῶν εὐεργετῶν*); rightly B. (without comment) and G. (emending M.'s copy from Greek text).

¹ *Naucratis*, I, 32; cf. W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 78.

² As I pointed out in *SEG* VIII, 364, the dedication *Σώστρατος Δεξιφάνους Κνίδιος θεοῖς Σωτῆρσι ὑπὲρ τῶν πλωϊζομένων* (*Sammelbuch*, 7332) is not an extant inscription, but that which is alleged by Lucian (*Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*, 62) to have been engraved on the Alexandrian Pharos by its architect. Dedications addressed *θεοῖς Σωτῆρσι* recur in Roman Imperial times (*Sammelbuch*, 1013, *Archiv*, II, 436, No. 32).

- c. Looks in photograph like \ominus , but either is or is meant for \Leftarrow , given by M., B., G.
- d. So photograph and G.; M., B. wrongly \mathfrak{J}° .
- e. So M., B., G., doubtless rightly; not clear on photograph.

My translation is:

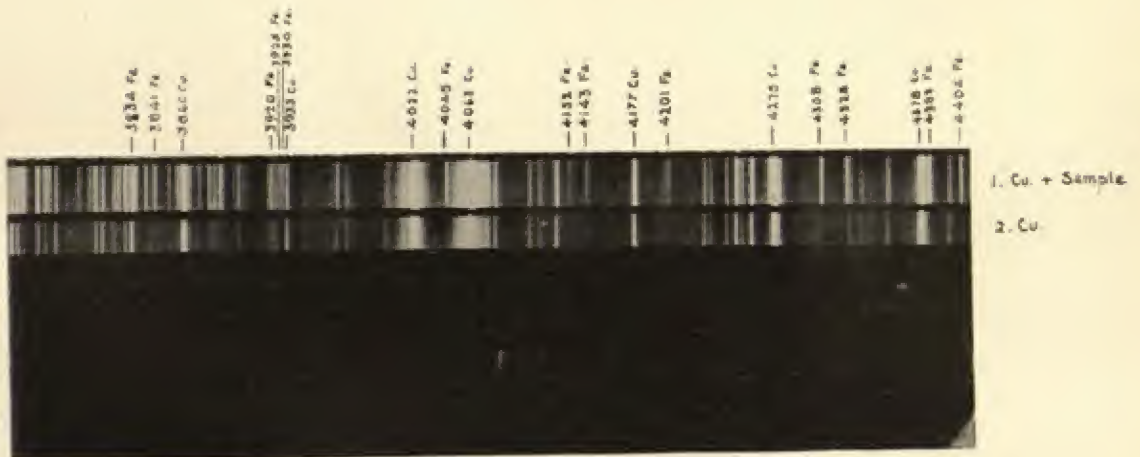
"It belongs to Osiris-Apis and Isis, the two saviour-gods, and the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Ptolemaios, ever-living,¹ beloved of Isis, and Queen Arsinoe, the two father-loving gods."

This agrees substantially with the translation of Spiegelberg *ap. Preisigke, Sammelb.*, No. 2136.²

¹ For the Ptolemaic period a better translation than 'may he live for ever!' since $\epsilon nh \text{ } \overline{d} t$ is translated $\alpha\iota\omega\nu\acute{o}\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ on the Rosetta Stone (Gk. text, 4, 8, 9, 37, 38, 49) and in Hermapion's translations of obelisk texts (ed. Erman, 256, 261, 263), showing that ϵnh was taken in late times, as by Egyptologists formerly, to be a participle.



GOLD PLAQUE FROM ALEXANDRIA



SPECTROGRAM OF SAMPLE OF IRON FROM FLINT WAND
OF CHEOPS

AN OCCURRENCE OF IRON IN THE FOURTH DYNASTY

By DOWS DUNHAM and WILLIAM J. YOUNG

IN Prof. G. A. Reisner's report on his excavations at the Third Pyramid¹ the diary entry for July 19, 1908, reads in part as follows: 'On the southern side of this room [room 8 in the Valley Temple], about the middle, in debris resting on the dividing wall, about 40 cm. above the floor, was a decayed shallow pan of copper upside down (pl. 61, e, f). On removing this, a deposit (o8-7-30) was found of copper and stone vessels, together with a fine flint wand inscribed with the names of Cheops, and a mass of yellow coloring matter. Underneath were traces of decayed wood, and an oxidized red mineral not unlike iron rust; probably red oxide of copper (it was not attracted by a magnet). These had evidently been in the pan which, with its contents, had been thrown out of the room (8) by plunderers and had fallen upside down. The objects included the wand, two model basins of slate, one of haematite, and one of crystal, a model vase of alabaster and one of slate, a model *hes*-vase of copper, two model shoulder jars of copper, and a stack of six model basins of copper (o8-7-31 to o8-7-44).'

The flint wand (*psš-kf*) referred to is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (No. 11. 765), and was long disfigured by a reddish-brown scaly deposit which partially obscured the fine incised inscription giving the names of Cheops.² This deposit has recently been removed and subjected to chemical and spectrographic analysis by Mr. W. J. Young of the museum staff. He soon obtained evidence that the material in question was iron and, having in mind G. A. Wainwright's studies on the occurrence of this metal in Egypt,³ I then asked him to try and determine whether or not it was of meteoric origin. The specimen available was minute, and the spectrographic method alone was practicable, but the definitely negative results obtained in the attempt to identify nickel in two spectrograms lead to the conclusion that the metal is non-meteoric.

The association of the substance *bir* (iron) with the ceremony of 'opening the mouth', to which Wainwright calls attention,⁴ is interestingly confirmed by this occurrence of iron with a 'magical set' and a *psš-kf* of the Fourth Dynasty. It seems clear that the set found by Reisner originally included an implement, or perhaps a block, of this metal, and that it was not of meteoric origin.

I append Mr. Young's report on his investigations of this sample, together with a photograph (pl. vi, bottom) of the second spectrogram referred to by him.

¹ G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, London, Humphrey Milford, 1931, p. 36.

² Op. cit., pl. 65, a.

³ G. A. Wainwright, *Iron in Egypt*, in *JEA* xviii, 3.

⁴ Ibid., 6 ff.

REPORT ON IRON DEPOSIT ON FLINT WAND FROM THE MYCERINUS VALLEY TEMPLE

A deposit which was found on a flint wand excavated at the site of the Temple of Mycerinus at Giza was submitted for chemical analysis.

A small fragment of the deposit was taken and a microchemical test for iron made by the ferrocyanide method. This proved to be positive.

The remainder of the deposit was removed from the wand and submitted to a spectrographic analysis in order to ascertain if the element nickel was present. Two spectrographically pure carbons were prepared and used as electrodes. The lower positive (+) electrode was drilled and the deposit embedded in it. This was exposed for 20 seconds in a 220-volt direct current arc. From the spectrogram strong iron lines were noted, and very weak copper lines at wave-lengths of 3247 and 3274 Angstroms. No trace of nickel could be found in the spectrogram. The remains of this deposit were then removed from the lower electrode and were found to be magnetic.

In order to obtain a more simplified spectrum two spectrographically pure copper electrodes were prepared. The positive (+) electrode was drilled and the sample embedded in it and exposed for 64 seconds. Nickel was again sought for, but was found to be absent.

The oxidized red mineral which Dr. Reisner refers to in the passage quoted above by Mr. Dunham must have been the iron in its ferric state, which is not magnetic. When ferric oxide is subjected to very high temperature it is converted into ferrous oxide, which is magnetic. This explains why the sample, after being removed from the bored electrode of the carbon arc in the above spectrographic analysis, was readily attracted by a magnet.

As meteoric iron invariably contains a fairly high percentage of nickel, and as any evidence of nickel was absent in the spectrograms, it must be assumed that the iron was not of meteoric origin.

The weak copper lines observed in the first spectrogram were due, in all probability, to the presence of the oxidized copper pan under which the wand was found. The wooden covering protected (to a degree) the iron deposit on the wand from greater contamination by the copper.



NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES
1865-1941

NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES

By ALAN H. GARDINER

ENGLISH Egyptology, which has sustained such heavy losses during the last few years, received yet another irreparable blow in the death of Norman de Garis Davies on November 5, 1941. To his many friends his sudden passing, characteristically the result of over-strenuous activity in his garden, came as a most unexpected shock; it seemed impossible that so vivid and lovable a personality could thus without warning be torn from our midst. Small of stature, but great of heart; apt to be contrary of speech, but in action invariably kind and compliant—these characters, together with a boundless vitality and an irrepressible humour, were so marked that the image of him will remain more living than that of other men. Two recollections of his tireless energy stand forth particularly clearly. First, one of him, not more than four years ago, tennis racket in hand, eye-shade askew on his brow, prowling around on the hottest of summer days in search of some youthful combatant whom he had not already tired out. And then again on an equally hot day, his arrival by bicycle after a ride of nearly sixty miles, when only with difficulty could he be restrained from continuing for another forty—this at the age of seventy-three! As a summer guest he was ready for all fun, throwing into it the same zest that he gave to more serious avocations. The thought of the latter carries my mind back to many weeks spent in his hospitable house in the midst of the Theban tombs. Here life was always strenuous, full days of industrious recording shared equally by husband and wife. Absorbed as he was in his own undertakings, he was never too busy (though perhaps with a few mildly blustering complaints, not seriously meant) to lend a generous hand to the work of myself and others. Lastly, his superabundant humour. At the end of the last war a prominent German Egyptologist, with whom Davies had been on exceptionally friendly terms, wrote to various English colleagues calling upon them to repudiate the charges of war-guilt on pain of a complete rupture. Some of us were ill advised enough to answer seriously; Norman merely sent back a drawing of himself squatting on the ground and pulling the petals from a daisy with the words, 'Er liebt mich', 'Er liebt mich nicht'. A reply which worked like magic.

From personal memories I must turn to the facts of his career. Born on September 14, 1865, his father was the Rev. J. D. Davies, while his mother belonged to the old Guernsey family of de Garis. In 1889 he went to Glasgow University with a scholarship from the foundation of Dr. William's Library in Gordon Square, London. After taking his M.A. and B.D. degrees he passed on with a post-graduate scholarship to Marburg University. Returning thence he took up work at a Congregational Church at Ashton-under-Lyne. Here he became acquainted with Miss Kate Bradbury, later to become the first wife of F. Ll. Griffith. For her gifts and character he conceived

a great admiration, and by her influence became interested in Egyptology, though some years were to pass before he adopted it as his career. From Lancashire he went to Australia, there to assist Dr. Strong, who was in charge of the Unitarian Church in Melbourne. Here he received through Miss Bradbury an invitation, which he accepted, to join Flinders Petrie in Egypt. It was primarily as a copyist of sculptures and paintings that he sought to qualify, and this remained his principal function thenceforward. But in course of time he acquired a profound knowledge of Egyptian archaeology, to which was gradually added a competent familiarity with the language of the hieroglyphs. These accomplishments, coupled with a facile, though unequal, pen which at times could rise to a considerable literary level, give to his commentaries on the tombs he published a quality hitherto unsurpassed and likely to remain so.

From the work with Petrie at Denderah (1898) he turned to single-handed labour on behalf of the Archaeological Survey of our Society, and most of the twelve volumes thus produced represent self-sacrificing drudgery on remote sites where he could but seldom meet with any of his kind. Thus it is that he has preserved for us a full record of the tombs of Sheikh Said (1901), of Dēr el-Gebrāwī (1902), and above all of El-ʿAmarnah (1903-8). The last-named achievement won for him the Leibniz medal of the Prussian Academy of Science, rarely accorded to a foreigner. For one season (1906-7) he accompanied Breasted on his expedition to Nubia, and between whiles he assisted Dr. Reisner at the Pyramids, a co-operation which he always recalled with great pleasure. After his marriage to Miss Anna M. Cummings in 1907 he settled down to epigraphic work at Thebes on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, in the service of which the rest of his life was spent. He was exceptionally fortunate in that his marriage brought him a talented partner who, though often working separately, also frequently assisted him and received assistance from him in turn. Thus originated the magnificent volumes of the Tytus series and of the M.M.A., and to him is due at least some part in my own humbler Theban Tombs Series. Alas that he should have died before all his achievement had seen the light! Many records which he accounted among his best still await publication, and it is devoutly to be hoped that those who commanded his tireless activity will speedily set this indispensable coping-stone upon his life's work.

The years will only enhance the importance of that work, for whereas pure scholarship dates rapidly, faithful copies grow in value according as destruction exacts its relentless toll. It is comforting to know that Davies received some measure of recognition during his lifetime: in 1928 he was made a member of the Archaeological Institute of the German Reich, while the University of Oxford conferred upon him an Honorary M.A. degree.



JOHN DEVITT STRINGFELLOW PENDLEBURY

1904-41

J. D. S. PENDLEBURY¹

By S. R. K. GLANVILLE

ALL who knew John Pendlebury must have taken it for granted that he would be in the thick of the fight during the Battle of Crete. When, after the evacuation, no news of him was heard from Egypt, and it was learnt that a number of our troops were still holding out in the mountains, there seemed every justification for hoping that Pendlebury was amongst them, for there can have been few, even of the Cretans, who knew the country so intimately. But the hope proved false; in November he was reported as 'killed in action' on or about May 24, 1941. He was in his thirty-seventh year, his scientific reputation firmly established, and fully equipped to make an outstanding contribution to archaeology had he lived longer. Even so, he has left, in the twelve years of work allowed to him after coming down from Cambridge, permanent records of first-class field work in Crete and Egypt, as well as more general publications, two at least of which are likely to remain standard for his generation. The vibrant humanity, by virtue of which he achieved so much in so short a time, has found an occasional echo in his own writings, though its impulse has been more widely dispersed among those who knew him, both within and without his profession, than his writings are ever likely to be. Members of our Society will therefore wish that any tribute to one who served its interests with such devotion as a scientist should also be a permanent memorial, however inadequate, of the man.²

John Devitt Stringfellow Pendlebury was born in London on October 12, 1904. He was the only surviving child of his parents, Herbert Stringfellow Pendlebury and Lilian Dorothea Devitt. He was sent to Winchester in May 1918. Of his time there his former housemaster writes:

'John Pendlebury's years at Winchester, May 1918 to July 1923, leave a very clear remembrance of all-round vigour. It is comparatively rare for boys at that age to make their mark in more than one or two directions; but it was characteristic of John from the start that he went 'all out' at everything. He gave an impression of energy directed at each objective in turn; but an energy always under the control of mind.

Vim temperatam di quoque provehant

In majus.

'The fact is he had a keen sense of the value of right technique; and his successes, whether athletic or intellectual, whether as a small boy in gymnasium or as head of his house in his last year, were due as much to thoroughness of method as to sheer determination to succeed. Watching him with others in all normal activities, nobody would have guessed that he had lost the sight of an eye. But it was his close application to detail that enabled him, for instance, to take catches on the boundary with the same certainty with which he cleared hurdles or the high jump bar. It was this, too, that gave distinction to his intellectual interests at an early stage of his development. He was not in the strictest sense a classical scholar, though he arrived at Cambridge with an exhibition; but it was always the life and the arts buried in successive strata of ancient civilizations which attracted him most; and the excellent essay which won him the Leslie Hunter Prize confirmed the rightness of his choice. How richly early promise was fulfilled in later years is for others to relate; but in Winchester records there can have been few whose life work in any academic field has reached and maintained a higher level of public distinction.'

¹ It is much regretted that owing to the many claims on our limited space it has been found necessary to use smaller type for this memoir on our distinguished and deeply regretted former excavator.—ED.

² Grateful acknowledgement is made of the help given to the writer by Mrs. Pendlebury and Mr. H. S. Pendlebury, and by a number of John Pendlebury's friends. Among the latter especial thanks are due to the Rev. F. P. David, his housemaster at Winchester, and to Mr. P. J. Dixon, who has contributed paragraphs three and four below as they stand.

His mother died while he was still at school, and father and son were drawn into a mutual devotion which was one of the main sources of John Pendlebury's strength during the remainder of his life.

In 1923 Pendlebury went up to Pembroke College, Cambridge, with a dual object—to perfect the classical knowledge required for his destined career of archaeologist and to equal the University record for the high jump. He gained a First Class in Part II of the classical tripos, with distinction in Archaeology, and jumped six feet against Oxford. His intellectual and athletic prowess found a natural fusion in the evocation of the Heroic Age: at Cambridge, while reading the classical authors and laying the foundations of his excellent knowledge of the archaeology of the Classical Age, it was to Homer and the great field of pre-Hellenic archaeology that he was instinctively drawn. His temperament was romantic as well as epic, and side by side with Schliemann, Maurice Hewlett's *Forest Lovers* had its place on his shelves. His love of medieval romanticism found expression in a private society which he created at Pembroke and named 'The joyouse companie of Saint Pol'. It held regular meetings under a rule of chivalry drawn up and administered by Pendlebury.

Pendlebury paid his first visit to the Aegaeon during an Easter vacation while still at Winchester. In the autumn of 1927 he travelled through the Balkans and Constantinople as Cambridge University student of the British School of Archaeology at Athens. After making the routine tours in the Greek mainland he set his sails for Crete, and was at once recognized by Sir Arthur Evans, then at the consummation of his Cnossian reign, as the heir apparent to the archaeological kingdom of Crete. It was in Crete, where he lived and died, that much of his best work was done and written and where his name, already a password, will assuredly take its place in the sagas of that heroic folk.

The next two years were full of development and decided the main lines of Pendlebury's life and work up to the outbreak of the present war. In 1928 he married Miss Hilda White, a fellow student of the British School in Athens, and from then onwards much of his output, whether written or in the field, was a joint undertaking by them both. She shared with him the authorship of two reports on their work in Crete¹ and assisted him in all his excavations in the Aegaeon and in Egypt until the last two or three years before the war, when the care of their two children required her to stay at home.

Pendlebury had spent the spring of 1928 digging with Heurtley in Macedonia, and in October of that year paid his first visit to Egypt on joining the Egypt Exploration Society's staff at Armant under Dr. Frankfort. In the second half of the season Frankfort re-opened the Society's work at Tell el-'Amarnah and Pendlebury went with him. The spell which that place casts on all who have lived there held him from the first, and when to his delighted surprise he found himself appointed in 1930 to direct the Society's excavations there, he brought to the work not only the scientific enthusiasm of the young scholar but an imaginative and almost reverential devotion.

In the meantime, between his first and second visits to Tell el-'Amarnah, he had been appointed Curator of Knossos and had published his first book, *Aegyptiaca*, a catalogue of Egyptian objects found in the Aegaeon area (exclusive of Rhodes). The need of such a catalogue had been long felt, and the book received a number of distinguished reviews on the Continent, in which minor criticisms served only to emphasize their authors' judgement that here was a standard work; and such it has remained. It was closely followed by an article in the *Journal*² in which Pendlebury sketched some of the historical implications of the material assembled in his Catalogue.

Thus both in his appointments in the field and in his writing his dual but indivisible interest in Egypt and Crete was already clearly indicated. He was determined to desert neither country for the other; and until the Society felt compelled to close down its expedition to Tell el-'Amarnah at the end

¹ *Two Protopalatial Houses at Knossos in the Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. XXX, 1928/9, 1929/30, and (with M. B. Money-Coutts) *Excavations in the Plain of Lasithi I, The Cave of Trapeza*, op. cit., No. XXXVI, 1936.

² *Egypt and the Aegaeon in the late Bronze Age*, xvi (1930), 75-92.

of 1936, Pendlebury continued every year to spend the Egyptian excavation season at 'Amarnah and a part of the remainder of the year, either digging, or on archaeological reconnaissance, in Crete.

The results of Pendlebury's seven years' direction of the Society's work at Tell el-'Amarnah are familiar to members from his annual reports in the *Journal*.¹ The second volume of *The City of Akhenaten* appeared in 1933 under the joint authorship of Frankfort and himself; but for the war, the final volume, for which he had completed his material, would now be available, and the definitive publication of the Society's excavations on the site be complete. When he relinquished the concession in 1937, in spite of his own ardent desire to continue digging until the site was cleared, he had laid bare the essential features of Akhenaten's capital.

Two years remained for increased activity in Crete. He had published his *Handbook to the Palace of Minos* in 1933. Two reports of excavations in the island have already been referred to. In 1939 he brought out *The Archaeology of Crete*, which is likely to be the chief witness to his scientific reputation in years to come. It was a remarkable achievement, more especially when it is remembered that Pendlebury never took a season off from field work, and was concurrently occupied with the preparation of Egyptian material for publication.

At the end of July 1939 he returned from Crete on the completion of his dig at Karphi Lasithi. He was placed on the list of the Reserve of Officers in August and was called up in December for preliminary training before going into the Intelligence Corps. After a four months' Cavalry Course at Weedon (in which he was in his element), he was summoned to the War Office and in less than a month had left by air for Crete to take up the post of British Vice-Consul at Candia. On the outbreak of war between Greece and Italy he reverted to military rank as Captain on the General Staff (18th Infantry Brigade). It is reported that, as Liaison Officer with the Cretan troops, he had already done gallant work in destroying the first swarm of parachutists which descended on Candia before he was killed a few days later.

John Pendlebury had a singularly self-consistent character and the picture of him at Cambridge in an earlier paragraph is precisely true of ten years later. Chivalry and romanticism were of his essence. Those who knew him well could instance a hundred examples of these qualities. To them were added a fine mind, a splendid physique, a capacity for hard, swift, and concentrated work, and a power of self-discipline. He could do with less sleep than most of his contemporaries, as he could outwalk almost all. The combination of these qualities enabled him on the one hand to produce the remarkable output of work here recorded, which had placed him among the leading archaeologists of his day at the age of thirty-five; on the other to find time for relaxation of all kinds, above all in the enjoyment of his friends. Among them, as in his work, he was felt to be a leader—not by reason of any wish on his part to dominate, but from the sheer colour of his personality and an inexhaustible zest for life. But for him it had to be a full life, lived according to the rules of chivalry; and the greatest of these he fulfilled by his death in Crete.

¹ In 1935 he published *Tell-el-Amarna*, an admirable account, written for the general reader, of the history of the place under the Atenist regime, for which he drew upon all the evidence available at that date.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Notes on Seagoing Ships

IN his paper on 'Egyptian Seagoing Ships' (*JEA* xxvi, 3-9), Mr. Faulkner says that on the voyages to Pwēnet in the XVIIIth dynasty 'there was no question as in the Old Kingdom of building ships on the shores of the Red Sea; the vessels started direct from Thebes and reached the Red Sea by a canal through the Wadi Tumilat'. Faulkner gives as his authority for this statement 'Breasted, *History*, 276', and here the Chicago Professor asserted that 'this canal, as the reader will recall (see p. 188) was already in regular use in the Middle Kingdom'. On turning to Breasted's own reference I find that he says 'This Suez region and likewise the Gulf of Suez were already connected with the eastern arm of the Nile by a canal, the earliest known connection between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.' No authority is there given for this statement, but in *Ancient Records*, II, 103, Breasted refers to Strabo, xvii, 1, 26, where the Greek geographer says that the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea was 'first cut by Sesostris before Trojan times', adding immediately, 'according to other writers by [Necho, Herodotus II, 158.] the son of Psammetichus, who only began the work, and afterwards died; lastly Darius the First succeeded to the completion of the undertaking, but desisted from continuing the work, when it was nearly finished, influenced by the erroneous opinion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than Egypt, and that if the whole of the intervening isthmus were cut through, the country would be overflowed by the sea. The Ptolemaic kings, however, did cut it through, and placed locks upon the canal, so that they sailed when they pleased, without obstruction into the outer sea and back again.' If a canal had been cut by Sesostris and was still in use at the time of the XVIIIth dynasty, it is very difficult to believe that 'the erroneous opinion' about the levels of Egypt and the Red Sea could have been current in the time of Darius. Until some contemporary evidence is forthcoming about the existence of a Middle Kingdom canal through the Wādy Tūmilāt, I prefer to place Strabo's statement to a 'suspense account'.

But even if there had been a canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea in the time of Hatshepsūt, earlier and later evidence supports the view that her ships were transported in sections overland from the Nile valley to a port on the Red Sea where they were rebuilt. This appears to have been the usual practice in antiquity before iron nails were invented. Semiramis is reported by Diodorus Siculus (II, 1) to have sent for shipwrights from Phoenicia, Syria, Cyprus, and other places bordering on the sea-coasts, and to have ordered them to 'build vessels that might be taken asunder and conveyed from place to place wherever she pleased'. It is well known that some of Alexander's ships on the Euphrates were brought in sections from the Mediterranean and rebuilt on that river (Arrian, *Anab.* v, 8; vii, 19; Diod. II, 16; Strabo, xvi, 1, 11; Quintus Curtius, x, 1-19). John Wood (*Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Source of the River Oxus*, London, 1841, 42) says that 'the method of building boats on the Indus is illustrative of a circumstance in Alexander's memorable expedition—that of transporting his vessels by land from the Indus to the Jalum (Hydaspes). In this country the sides and bottom of a boat are completed apart, and then brought together to form the vessel. The labour of carrying the largest boat may thus be much lightened, and is an operation of common occurrence in the present day on the banks of the Indus.' It is not a century and a half ago that Mohammed Ali had some gun-boats, two brigs, and a small corvette, built at Alexandria, and when finished, they were 'taken to pieces, conveyed up the Nile to Cairo, and being there placed on the backs of camels, were carried to Suez. By this means the Pasha had soon a very respectable fleet acting in the Red Sea' (T. Legh, *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt*, 1816, 30).

In the first century A.D. the unknown author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (ed. W. H. Schoff, 1912, §§ 16, 36, cf. p. 154) describes vessels built without nails, whose planks were sewed together by cords in precisely the same way as in many boats now navigating the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the east coast of Africa. The Greek author records that from Ommāna boats 'sewed together after the fashion of the place' were exported to Arabia, and he further mentions Rhapta, a port on the east coast of Africa, 'which had its name from the sewed boats seen there'. Gemelli Carreri (*Voyage autour du monde*, Paris, 1727, qu. from *Geogr. Journ.* XIII, 1899, p. 296) travelled between 1693 and 1699, from Shiraz to Lar and describes ship-building at Bahrein; he writes: 'Instead of nails, which they are without, they use "chevilles" (pegs) of bamboo or cane, and further join the planks with "ficelles" (strings) made of rushes'. Poncet (*Voyage to Aethiopia*, London, 1709, 120), on his return journey to Europe from the Abyssinian capital to the port of Massowa, says: 'I had no mind to hazard myself in the Ships of the Country, which appeared to be very slight and unsafe; the Planks, altho' pitch'd and tarr'd, being only fasten'd together with pitiful Cords. . . . Notwithstanding, these Vessels, altho' so ill rigg'd out, and worse govern'd, carry a great Weight, and altho' they have not above seven or eight Men to manage them, they are of great Use in all that Sea.' James Bruce (*Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, 2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1805, II, 107) describes the vessel he sailed in from Kosseir on the Red Sea; it had one sail 'like a straw mattress', made of the leaves of the dom-palm. The sail was 'fixed above and drew up like a curtain, but did not lower with a yard like a sail; so that, upon stress of weather, if the sail was furled, it was so top-heavy, that the ship must founder, or the mast be carried away. But, by way of indemnification, the planks of the vessel were sewed together, and there was not a nail, nor a piece of iron, in the whole ship; so that, when you struck upon a rock, seldom any damage ensued.' Another boat that Bruce (II, 236) sailed in on the Red Sea ran on to a shoal, and it was only after much exertion that the sailors were able to refloat it. 'I had always some fears a plank might have started; but we saw the advantage of a vessel being sewed, rather than nailed together, as she was not only unhurt, but made very little water.' In 1896, on my first visit to Kosseir, I saw several similar 'sewn' boats in the harbour; and in 1926, when exploring the region between Suakin and Halaib, 'sewn' vessels were seen sailing along the coast through the coral reefs. In 1930 Bertram Thomas (*Arabia Felix*, 1932, 2) sailed from Muscat to Risut in an Arab dhow and describes how 'a ground swell, even in the mildest weather, runs vigorously along these gentle shelving beaches, and sends huge rollers crashing inshore. A whaler or other English-built boat would surely capsize and break up, but the local *bamush* (of sewn timbers), craftily handled by the fisherfolk, comes riding safely through, despite moments when it seems to stand giddily on end and one looks on apprehensively, knowing that the sea, a boiling cauldron in the vicinity, would show small mercy to a swimmer.'

The Egyptian word for 'ship-building' is 𓂏𓂏 *špt*; in a scene of boat-building at Dēr el-Gebrāwi (Davies, *D. el G.*, II, pl. 10) this word is determined with a cord-sign 𓂏 . In the Inscription of Pepi-nakht (Dyn. VI; *Urk.* I, 134) mention is made of a *kbnt*-ship being built (*špt*) 'in the country of the Asiatics' for Pwēnet. *Kbnt*-ships were seagoing vessels built at *Kbn* (Byblos) on the coast of Syria where the necessary timber was felled, and although Pepi-nakht does not name the place where the boat was being built, it was certainly Byblos: the vessel, therefore, would have had to be transported overland to the Red Sea in sections. Henu (Dyn. XI; Golénischeff, *Hammamat*, xv-xvii) and Hatshepsūt (Naville, *D. el B.* lxvii) employed *kbnt*-ships for their expeditions to Pwēnet. These vessels were of a special type built at *Kbn* and not necessarily 'employed on the Byblos run' as Faulkner states in *JEA* xxvi, 3; they were also used on the Nile in funeral processions (Wilkinson, *M. & C.*, edn. Birch, III, lxvii), and in Dyn. XXVI under Amasis and Psammetichus III, there was a fleet of *kbnt*-ships at Sais under the command of the Admiral Uza-ḥor-rsn.t (Piehl, *Inscr. hierogl.* I, 32).

Such is undoubtedly the gist of ll. 7-10; but *κοροι* at the end of l. 7 is obviously corrupt, and the preceding *ῥα* is not very easily accounted for. Waddell, with some hesitation, quotes *κούρος* in the sense of 'twig' or 'lopping', and proposes to read *ῥα κάρφεισι κούρου*, 'like to splinters from a log'. I should like to suggest an alternative. Just as l. 8 celebrates the cables which formed one part of the lifting apparatus employed, so in the preceding line we should expect to find a reference to the other essential feature—the rigid structure on which the ropes bore. I therefore propose to read *ῥακαρφέσι κορμοῖς*, 'with poles thin as matchsticks'; the whole apparatus I imagine to have been some kind of crane or shear-legs, resembling perhaps that depicted in the well-known relief from the Tomb of the Haterii. And if we wish to know the Greek name of the machine, I do not think we have to look farther than the last line of the epitaph. Here Prof. Waddell interprets *μάγγανον* as 'charm', which is legitimate, but lacks point; the root meaning of the word, however, is instrument or machine—it is in fact cognate with *μηχανή*—and from it are derived both the medieval mangonel and the homely mangle.¹ This gives the clue to the final couplet: in life, Harpalos could perform miraculous feats with his cranes and pulleys; but the web of the Fates is stronger than ropes and cables, and against Death the mightiest engine cannot prevail.

Professor Waddell does not discuss the date of the inscription, but I may perhaps point out the significance of the apostrophe in *μαγ'γανον*. This curious lectional sign, the purpose of which remains a mystery, is commonly found between two palatals (less often between *ττ* and *λλ*) in papyri of the third century A.D.,² though I have noted an instance in a Karanis papyrus of the late second century. On the other hand, neither Harpalos nor Achilles is designated Aurelius, a fact which points to a date before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of A.D. 212, though this is perhaps not decisive. However this may be, I feel the general tenor of the poem, with its pictures of splendid temples and skilled craftsmanship, is better suited to the early years of the third century than to the expiring paganism and the days of turbulence and terror which marked its latter end. T. C. SKEAT

Bricks as Birth-Stool

No. XXXV of Viktor Stegemann's *Koptische Zaubertexte* (Heidelb. Akad., *Sitzb.*, 1933-4, pp. 23, 58) is a fragment of an eleventh-century MS., all six lines of which are printed as imperfect. In reality ll. 1-3 (and ? 4) are complete and read: (1) *πραν* (St. *πραν*) *ετιψατε* (for *ετιψοατε*) *η*(2) *τωθε* *ηταμαρια* (3) *μισε* *εχωου* (St. *εχωου*) *αη*(4) *ραααακ ογααααακ* (5) *αηρ*[.....] (6) *η*['The names of the 3 bricks (or tiles) whereon Mary gave birth: *Akramak*, *Waramak*, *Akr*].³ Clearly a birth-charm, depending upon the magical virtue of names; cf. the palindrome *Sator areto* (so the Coptic version, for *arepo*), etc., as the names of the nails of Christ's Cross.⁴ The bricks point to the Egyptian method of delivering a pregnant woman, who, squatting on one, or rather, on two superposed, bricks, places each foot on two more. The other Coptic instances are given in *Dict.* 398a, *sup.*, the last there, Mich. 136 (= *Orientalia*, iv, 21, l. 76) being extremely obscure.⁵ Spiegelberg has dealt with the hieroglyphic evidence, connecting the bricks with *אבנים* of Exodus i. 16;⁶ H. A. Winkler describes the same procedure among modern fellāhīn.⁷ W. E. CRUM

¹ *μάγγανον* in the sense of 'pulley' occurs in P. Lond. 1164 (h), 8, a sale of a boat dated A.D. 212.

² Cf. W. Schubart, *Palaeographie*, p. 79, and Grete Rosenberger in *Papyri Iandanae*, fasc. vi, No. 100, l. 12, note.

³ Word-division uncertain. *Akra*-(*Akrama*-) is a frequent element in such names, but exactly this combination does not recur.

⁴ Cf. Eg. Expl. Fund's *Archaeol. Rep.* 1897-8, 63; *Liverp. Ann. of Arch.* xiv, 89, no. 28b; Basset, *Apocr. Ethiop.* v, 16; Kropp, III, § 102. Bibliography of this palindrome by D. Atkinson in *Bull. Ryl. Libr.*, 1938, 419, omitting oriental evidence.

⁵ Context: *ητοαηητ ημσε ποου εσθ πααε · ηροου ησοηηρ μην(?)ηογτε ηηολε εητωθε εμισε* (? 'to bring forth', or = *μμε*). Genders seem unaccountable. Could *σοηηρ* be *στειρ* (*Wh.* iv, 34)? The whole text is full of puzzles. In l. 114 is a well-known incantation name: read *τί κελεύει σοι Δαμναμενεός* (cf. Wünsch, *Ant. Flucht.*, p. 10).

⁶ *Z. f. Assyriol.* xiv, 269; also *Aeg. Randglossen zum alten Testament*, 19. V. also Griffith in *Encycl. Relig. and Eth.* II, 646.

⁷ *Bauern* (1934), 111; *Aeg. Völkerk.* (1936), 188. Miss Blackman, *Fellahin of Up. Eg.*, 63, does not mention bricks.

REVIEWS OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Osiris and His Rites. By G. D. HORNBLOWER, in *Man*, 1937, Nos. 186 and 200; *Osiris and the Fertility-rite.* By G. D. HORNBLOWER, in *Man*, 1941, No. 71.

Mr. Hornblower, in this interesting study, begins his examination of the origins of Osiris with the statement that the classical writers often record the beliefs of the Egyptian populace, and that they identify the god with the Nile-flood. This identification is found to have formed part also of the official religion according to the testimony of certain texts; and a natural development is seen in the further identification of Osiris with corn. But Egyptologists are said to be now generally agreed 'that Osiris was actually an ancient divine king who reigned in the Delta'. Why, then, was he identified with the Nile-flood? Mr. Hornblower suggests that this was because of the organization by Osiris, as king, of a general system of irrigation. (It may be noted, in connexion with this, that Diodorus Siculus, I, 19, says that Osiris taught his countrymen how to control the inundation of the Nile.) In describing the prehistoric struggles of the followers of Horus, Osiris, and Seth, Mr. Hornblower concurs, in the main, with the account given in Sethe's *Urgeschichte*. He then attempts to analyse certain myths and ceremonies connected with Osiris, such as the sacred marriage of Isis and the resuscitated Osiris, the roles of Nephthys and Horus, the raising of the *Djed*-pillar, the rites of conflict, and the story of the dismemberment of Osiris. With Sir J. G. Frazer and others, Mr. Hornblower sees Horus and Osiris playing the male role in a myth of Mother and Son or Mother and Spouse, in accordance with the pattern found in other countries.

In the third article reference is made to the Egyptian prehistoric evidence, and a new theory is propounded, albeit with diffidence, as to the origin of Osiris. Great antiquity is claimed for his cult: '... when Osiris came to be recognised as the divine promoter of fertility, the role of male was attached mythologically to him, at some time, seemingly, in the Gerzean period of Egyptian prehistory.' In one respect the author has seriously modified his former views: he now claims that 'the Horians were settled originally in the district of which the capital was the city of *Behdet*', severely rejecting Sethe. A full discussion of this difficult problem would have been welcome. Osiris, too, is assigned to Upper Egypt—as an immigrant from Mesopotamia via the Red Sea. It is denied that he is specially attached to *Andjety* in the Pyramid Texts, and his head-dress is said to be Upper Egyptian. There is evidence of material prosperity in the Gerzean period. This, according to Mr. Hornblower, implies improved cultivation, and may be linked with the appearance of Osiris, the pioneer of irrigation. With regard to the connexion with Mesopotamia, a statement of V. Gordon Childe is cited, suggesting the existence of an ancient wide cultural zone, including Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Gerzean Egypt. Detailed parallels are found between the cult of Tammuz and Ishtar on the one hand and that of Isis (or Hathor), Horus, and Osiris on the other. The original rite, it is thought, was a ceremonial mating with a view to promoting fertility in men and animals; but eventually the rite was connected with agriculture. This view of Osiris rests on a refreshing examination of some prehistoric problems, but it is not supported, so far, by any strong weight of evidence. There are a number of statements which need to be modified. It is said that the Greek writers identified Osiris with the Nile-flood. It should be added that they gave many other explanations as well, and that this was by no means the most common one. Their occasional description of Isis as the mother earth is clearly quite un-Egyptian, as the Egyptian earth-deity was masculine. The epithet 'Bull of His Mother', used of Horus, is taken as evidence for 'the conception of a mother-goddess mating with her son'. This is an important point in the theory, but there is doubt whether the Egyptian phrase refers to any mythological episode. First used of Min, it probably gave expression to the idea of the god's pre-existence and self-generation (see Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du Dieu Min*, I, 137). Nor is the mother-incest of Horus confirmed by Spell 112 of the *Book of the Dead*, as Mr. Hornblower thinks; for the father of the four sons of Horus who are born of Isis is there *Hr Smsw*, Horus the Elder. Another doubtful point is the description of the mother-goddess as being, among other things, 'protectress of the dead'. With regard to the Abydos relief where Osiris is seen impregnating Isis as a falcon, it is improbable that the falcon at the head of the god

has the function of guardian, as with Chephren: the two falcons, one at the head and the other at the feet of Osiris, surely represent Isis and Nephthys as the *ḏrt*y. Again, it is not true to say that the king wears Osirian dress at the *Sed*-festival.

Mr. Hornblower's ideas, especially in the third article, are nevertheless stimulating and suggestive, and it will be interesting to see whether this Mesopotamian and Upper Egyptian Osiris will be countenanced by future researchers.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Materials used at the Embalming of King Tut-ankh-amūn (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Papers No. 10).

By H. E. WINLOCK. New York, 1941. 18 pp., 10 half-tone and line plates.

This short monograph, written in the vivid style of which its author is a past master, gives the detailed account of a discovery made in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings some thirty-four years ago. The discoverer was Edward Ayrton, then working for Theodore M. Davis, and with one exception (a painted miniature mask of which the purpose is obscure) the objects were deemed so unimportant that Winlock was allowed to carry off to New York a goodly portion. A small and shallow pit had been cut in the rock some 110 m. to the south of the tomb of Tut-ankhamūn. Here, packed in a dozen or more large jars, all exactly alike, had been buried the remnants of embalming materials, together with the bones of a cow, nine ducks, and four geese consumed at a funerary repast, to which also belonged half-a-dozen flower collars used to adorn the necks of the guests. Pots of many shapes and sizes formed, however, the great bulk of the find, and these had all been broken so as to find a place in the great containing jars.

Those who have had personal experience of Winlock's archaeological methods or who have read his reports with care will not need to be assured that every detail has been studied and recorded with the minutest attention, and interpreted from as wide a background of knowledge as is possessed by anyone in the world. But indeed, though it is not possible always to distinguish between the pots used by the embalmers and those that did service at the feast, the two great categories of objects could not fail to be recognized by anyone. To the former category belong many bags filled with natron or chaff, three kerchiefs used over wigs to protect them from the dust, and scraps (in Winlock's own words) 'torn from the bandages at the time of the king's wrapping'. A piece of a sheet marked as made in year 8 of Tut-ankhamūn's reign dates the find with certainty, as do also some sealings. Winlock's comment upon the embalming materials is plausible enough; they were too impure, he says, to be buried in the tomb, but had to be put not far away from the body, since this had been in contact with them. So too the remains of the funerary feast carry their own explanation. The difficulty, as I see it, lies in the combination of both categories. The embalming and wrapping of the mummy, the work of many months, had doubtless been carried out in the embalmers' workshops. Were they in the Valley? And did the funerary feast take place there too at the termination of the task? The mud impressions from seals with the name of Tut-ankhamūn 'broken from tomb furniture' add to the complexity of the problem.

The book contains but little for the mere philologist. I must confess to having misled Winlock over one point on which he consulted me many years ago: the first word on the jar inscription G (p. 14) should have been read $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{Q} & \text{Q} \\ \text{Q} & \text{Q} \end{smallmatrix}$ *swt* 'wheat'.

ALAN H. GARDINER

Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre. Neu herausgegeben und erklärt von C. E. SANDER-HANSEN. Kopenhagen, Levin & Munksgaard, 1937. Sm. folio. 11+158 pp.

One of the most striking objects in the Egyptian Sculpture Gallery of the British Museum is the magnificent basalt sarcophagus (found at Thebes in 1832) of the God's Wife, Votaress and God's Hand 'Ankhneseferibre', daughter of Psammetichus II and Takhawet and adopted daughter of the God's Wife Nitocris, but not, as has often been assumed, wife of Amasis. What gives this monument special importance, however, is not so much its beautiful workmanship as its inscriptions, which, covering most of the external and internal surfaces, form a body of religious and magical texts found on no other sarcophagus or coffin and for the most part unique and of great interest. Egyptologists have long been acquainted with these from Budge's publication *The Sarcophagus of Ankhneseferab*, which appeared in 1885; though marred by many mistakes of copying, and by the fact that in several cases the texts running round the sarcophagus were made to begin in the wrong places (see the concordance of lines given below), it gave an excellent general idea of the texts, and is still not wholly superseded (how few Egyptological works ever are!); it shows the many curious modifications by which a Ptolemaic male usurper of the tomb tried to adapt some of the inscriptions to his

own use, as well as illustrations of the sarcophagus; both these features are absent from the new publication by Dr. Sander-Hansen. This edition, prepared from photographs and two sets of squeezes, at last gives us a satisfactory text (collation with the original might, however, have improved it in a few places). His translation is of course immeasurably superior to Budge's, although, as I point out in my notes below, the older rendering has the advantage in some places, and in a number of others¹ also it is possible to differ from Dr. Sander-Hansen. The commentary is very full: not only are there the usual philological notes, but the text is broken up into sections each furnished with a *Textbeschreibung* in which the content, style, sources, and age of the section are discussed, much as in Sethe's translation and commentary of the Pyramid Texts, the publication of which is due to Dr. Sander-Hansen. A chapter dealing with the compilation as a whole closes a book which is a valuable contribution to the study of Egyptian philology and religion.

Two striking peculiarities of the texts, one grammatical, the other graphic, may be mentioned here. The first (pointed out on p. 15) is the substitution of a participle followed by the dependent pronoun 2 f. sg. *tn* for the Old Perfective 2 f. sg., e.g. *shm tn* for *shm.ti*.² The use of a participle + *si* for the Old Perf. 3 f. sg. is now well known, but this second-person use seems to be new: doubtless examples will before long turn up in other texts. The second (not discussed by the editor) is the use of π some 28 times, and in 10 different words, for π , which itself (with a few variants π , π , π) occurs about 40 times. In every case π occurs beside another sign, e.g. π , and it is evidently a false transcription of π in its smaller and more summary hieratic form, which at this period is identical with the hieratic form of π (see Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* III, 324 and 538b). The consistent use of it in the position referred to is remarkable.

Those who use the new publication should be warned that the editor indicates supplements of lacunae and omissions in a way which is quite different from the usual conventions and may be really misleading unless clearly understood. Signs which are lost through damage he hatches without enclosing them in brackets;³ signs omitted in the text he places between square brackets.⁴ It is greatly to be wished that all editors of texts would conform in such matters to the excellent practice of the majority, according to which

- (a) signs *damaged* but still recognizable are hatched in whole or part;
- (b) signs *lost* are enclosed in square brackets [] and are hatched if possible;
- (c) signs *omitted* in the original are enclosed in pointed brackets < >.

The following notes on points of detail concern the editor's translation rather than his commentary. I have compared his copy of the text in some places with the reproduction of the whole sarcophagus which occupies 47 large sheets in the very valuable Williams rubbings of inscriptions (referred to below as 'W.') in the Griffith Institute (cf. *JEA* XXVII, 7 ff.). The numbers are those of the lines in the new edition. My excuse for the extent of the notes is the importance of the texts they relate to; these will certainly be utilized in works on Egyptian religion more than before the appearance of Dr. Sander-Hansen's edition, and anything that can be done to further the correct understanding of them seems to be well worth while.

P. 4. To the bibliography add G. Nagel, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (Nord)* [1928], 15 ff., containing a full account of the tomb, which was rediscovered in 1928 by the French Institute.—In lines 2–3 (as given on the page) of the usurper's inscription the text seems to be wrongly divided; surely we must read *hr rn-k mntw, pr-k grg, hrw-k mntw m nwt-k* 'and thy name endures, thy house is peopled, thy heirs endure in thy city'. π is presumably the conjunction *hr*.—The statue published by Daressy in *Rec. Trav.* xv, 162 seems to belong to the usurper's family.

L. 23. 'Her *ba* is within her, and her might is around (*hr*) her'; *hr*, translated by the editor 'hinter', is surely in antithesis to *m hntw*.

51. π is used a number of times in these texts as a variant of π = *ikr, mnj*. Here *nsw mnj* 'beneficent king'.

52. 'Beneficent one of the earth'? Cf. *ntr wsr n ts* in 45.

¹ In some of these (the passages referred to in my notes below on lines 51, 83, 99, 127, 136–8, 195, 199–204, 208, 216, 217, 320, 345, 378, 380, 384, 434) the new editor has apparently allowed himself to be unduly influenced by his predecessor.

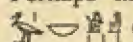












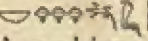
² Lines 18, 25 (twice), 26, 179, 190; less certain cases in 187, 189 (twice), 198, 209. π is also used in place of the suffix *-t* in 55, 179 (twice), 196.

³ So in lines 108–14, 117, 217, 220, 227, 233 (collated with the Williams rubbings).

⁴ So in lines 57, 97, 118, 269 (collated as in preceding n.). But in 383 Williams shows room for π after *tpi*, and gives the π of *hr* quite clearly.

- 56-7. For *pri* 'fly' used here and in 66 of emergence from water cf. *I Khamuas*, 4, 9.14.
60. *Mdt-i hnc-f* probably 'my dispute with him'; see my n. on 67.
63. $\rightarrow \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \leftarrow$ certainly an abnormal writing of the phrase, regular in such contexts as this, *stt-in-tw-f* 'and he was brought in'; the same writing *P. Leningr. 1116B*, rt., 4, see Gardiner in *JEA* 1, 102, n. 3. Following *stt* 'introduce', the writing 𓂏 is perhaps sportive.
65. *Bw ikr* 'it is an excellent thing that . . . '.
67. *Mdtw hnc* 'litigate, dispute with', as in *Urk.* IV, 1114, 17? The second *hnc* doubtless governs the following infinitive *bhn*, continuing an injunction (Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, § 171, 3).—*d* 'the criminal' as in 60?
- P. 35. The 'Gunn'sche Regel' does not conflict with *n rh-f* having present meaning, cf. my *Syntax*, 97-8.
70. For the 'two ends' (*tpwi*, lit. 'heads') of a boat cf. *Wenamün*, 2, 38.
74. 'Who are not ignorant of him.'
77. In $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'the dead' $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ is probably a resolution of 𓂏 , which is a late writing of *mw* and is itself doubtless derived from 𓂏 .
78. 'Her safety is like that of Rēc.'—'Rēc in heaven' (*n* for *m*) and not 'der Rēc des Himmels': so also 199, 210, 377. *M* correctly written 𓂏 in 270.
83. 𓂏 probably *wrf*: 'thou art watched over'.
88. *W.* shows the bird after *hft* to be more like 𓂏 than the form given.
- 93-4. *Tw-i*, Late Egyptian; so also 105.
98. *Rdi sn (sf) n* 'give passage to', *Wb.* III, 483 (5); so also 120 (correctly translated by Budge).
99. I take 𓂏 as det. of *cmw wr*; *nfr irr-f ht* can hardly be translated 'der Gott, der das Feuer macht'. Emend $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ to $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$: 'if he (Apopis) makes fire, extinguish it for me'.
108. *W.* shows $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, thus with no room for 𓂏 .
- 109, beginning. *W.* shows $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, thus with no room for 𓂏 .
- 110, end. *W.* shows room for rather more than 𓂏 , probably 𓂏 .
- 111-12. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ hardly 'Gott'! I translate 'divine *ba*, making the morning festive with his divine light, only august divine one . . . , divine one of heaven . . . '. *W.* shows room for about two 'squares' more than 𓂏 at the end of 111, and a lacuna of about two 'squares' after 𓂏 at the end of 112.
113. *W.* shows 𓂏 after 𓂏 (so also Budge).
- 120, end. After 𓂏 *W.* shows only 𓂏 , thus no room for 𓂏 , which is only a restoration.
- 121-2. I would emend *tw m-n-i <Rr> m dbn-f* 'I have seen <Rēc> in his course', for *tw m-n-i* can hardly contain a relative form.—*M hr* is not 'vor' but 'in the sight of'; so also 379, 430, 431, 465.
123. To translate *hr-k mst* as though *hr-k* were a participle needs some defence, if defence is possible.
126. *W.* shows 𓂏 , bounding the following spell, not the preceding one; so also in 170, 171.
127. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ hardly 'verehrend', for this verb in the Old Perf. would mean rather the passive 'verehrt'; I suggest the emendation *snw <s> t <w>* 'that she may venerate thee'. For $\text{𓂏} = tw$ cf. $\text{𓂏} = tn$ in 238.
132. *M dd* 'saying',¹ i.e. Rēc is to transmit her words, adding his own declaration of her innocence.
- 135-6. *M* does not express purpose to my knowledge, and is surely vetitive here, and *wdt hr-tw r-s* is hardly 'ein Befehl gegen sie gesagt'. I suggest 'do not kill her, do not smite her'; 'among thy servants by command' is said about her'.
- 136-8. *N*, four times, surely dative and not genitive—why should 'the Lady of the Two Lands' have a plurality of hearts? 'She kills men for Sakhmet, she roasts hearts for', etc.
- 138-9. 'If there be anyone who shall denounce (*sthti-fi*) her in the Dē'et, let them not¹ hear their (*sic*) speech, namely the conclave of every god, every goddess, (but) give them to the slaughterers . . . , rather than 'wenn sie weiss, dass ihr Vater in der Unterwelt ist, sie verhören zu lassen, dann wird sie dem Götterkollegium . . . sagen', etc. Here as in 135 *m* is taken by the editor to have final meaning! The construction in which the subject of the principal sentence is anticipated by a pronoun (*sdm-sn*) is evidently caused by the length of that subject.
141. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ is referred to in the commentary as a pronoun, but an independent pronoun as subject with adverbial predicate is so rare that I suggest we have here a writing of *ti tw*, similar to the common third-person $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$; this would suit the editor's translation 'wenn du bist'.

¹ So also Budge.

249. Perhaps 'the gods, they say weeping, "Where (*tn*) is Osiris 'A.? She has gone to another land.'"
250.  certainly = *bw nb* 'everyone'.
255. *Srnh* probably participle: 'thou art he who makes corn, who preserves.' . . .
260. 'Thoth attaches himself to him' (*Dhwti* <*hr*> *hnm-f*), watching over his bier' rather than 'Thoth gesellt sich (?) sodann zu dem "Wachsamen auf seiner Bahre"'.
262. Some emendation is necessary here, as the editor sees. I propose: 'as to that plant which has grown with thee, "corn" is its name; it has <come into being> to nourish men.' For *ptw* before *rn-f* cf. 319, 322, 354. I suggest that the text should have  and that  fell out through haplography.
263. The *m* after *nis* is the particle which frequently follows an imperative. Close parallels *Destruction des hommes* (Sethos I), 3; *Kubān Stela*, 11.
268. The  of  probably =  with participle (cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 370 for verb caus. 3 lit.): 'Lord of corn, who nourishest mankind.'
269. 'Thou art like the divine falcon upon the throne (*wtst*).' Cf. *Wb.* 1, 384 (8).
275. *Bik dṛmti* hardly 'goldene Falke', for one would expect the 'adjectival' form from *dṛm* to be *dṛmi*. Perhaps 'bearer of a *dṛm*-sceptre', cf. *Wb.* v, 537 (12).—At end, 'Orion and the Great Bear (*mshtytw*)'?
281. 'Living, beneficent (*mnh*) god in the West'?
291. *Sr-t mnh* 'the effectual protection of thee'? Follows 'he (Thoth) has placed himself . . . behind thee'.
- 292-3.  perhaps for *rdi-tw-s* 'it is placed'.
294. 'It being placed in thy hand to be a protection (*hwt*) for Osiris 'A.'
304. *M sp w* surely 'all together',¹ as usually, not 'the first time', although followed later by 'the second, third . . . time'. It would be highly artificial to make the gods speak 'the first time'.
- 308-10. 'They say, weeping-for Osiris 'A., "Osiris, he sleeps upon his bier." Every god', etc.'
315. It seems incredible that here and in 318, 322, 323-4, 328, *nmc*² 'to sleep' should mean 'sich (auf der Bahre) begeben'! If *r* be taken to mean 'at', 'in' (cf. Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, § 163, 1; Junker, *Gramm. d. Dendera-texte*, § 191, a, c) no such desperate resort is necessary; we can render 'she has gone to sleep in another land, house, etc.'
320.  cannot mean 'die Götter haben dich beweint'. '(O all people who are on earth,) weep for your god (i.e. 'A.).'
322. *Ntrwt* etc. belongs to the next section (f. 5): 'the goddesses, they weep very greatly, and say, "Osiris 'A., . . ."' etc. The gods having spoken four times, it is the turn of the goddesses.
325. *Hkt n-s im m ti* 'the rule belonging to her is on earth' rather than 'sie hat dort auf Erden geherrscht'.
345. It seems preferable to translate 'let all gods and goddesses . . . know that (xε) the Majesty of Osiris 'A. has passed away', and so also in 347, 350, 359.
378. *Ntrw nṛwt hr iṛw n hr-t* cannot mean 'die Götter und Göttinnen preisen dein Gesicht', for *iṛw* is not a verb. 'The gods and goddesses say "Praise be to thy face!"'
380.  is here *twšr*, not *skm*; 'thy shining does not fail', not 'dein Strahlen hat kein Ende'.
- 383 (p. 121). Why read  as *tm-tn*? It is surely *tm-thwni*, Old Perfective used optatively: 'be non-existent!' like *hr-thwni* 'procul estote'.—After the first  W. shows clearly .
384. 'Osiris 'A., justified before Osiris (see n. on 161) has hidden herself behind Rē', and not 'Osiris A. hat sich bei Osiris hinter Rē verborgen'.
- 388, end. W. shows no | after .
394. *Nn nṛw r-s* 'there is none who beholds her', not 'so dass man sie nicht sieht'.
- 395-6. *Nw-s m st* 'she is gathered into a place' rather than 'sie ist mit einer Stelle versehen', see Gardiner in *JEA* xxii, 179.
408. *N mṛ šl hr nb, šm<ti> m hr-sn* 'no one has seen her, she having passed from their sight' rather than 'niemand sieht sie, wenn sie vor sie tritt'.
411.  looks like 'lord of faces, of many uraei', as epithets of Ptah or of 'A.
424. A word *hwn* meaning perhaps 'multitude' or the like is discussed in Dows Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dér Stelae*, 44.

¹ So also Budge.² Better *nmi*? Note the writing in 318.

- In conclusion I give a concordance of line-numbers in the editions of Sander-Hansen and Budge, believing that it will be useful to future students of 'Ankhnesneferibre's inscriptions, as it has been to myself. In the present conditions it would have been impossible to complete it without the invaluable Williams rubbings.

BATTISCOMBE GUNN

² 'Right', 'left' are those of the spectator throughout.

³ 'Front', 'back' as used by De Buck in *Coffin Texts* (mummy's left and right respectively).

⁴ B, numbers two consecutive lines 103.

⁵ B. has no line 63.

^d S.-H.'s 370 = B.'s 382 is really two short lines.

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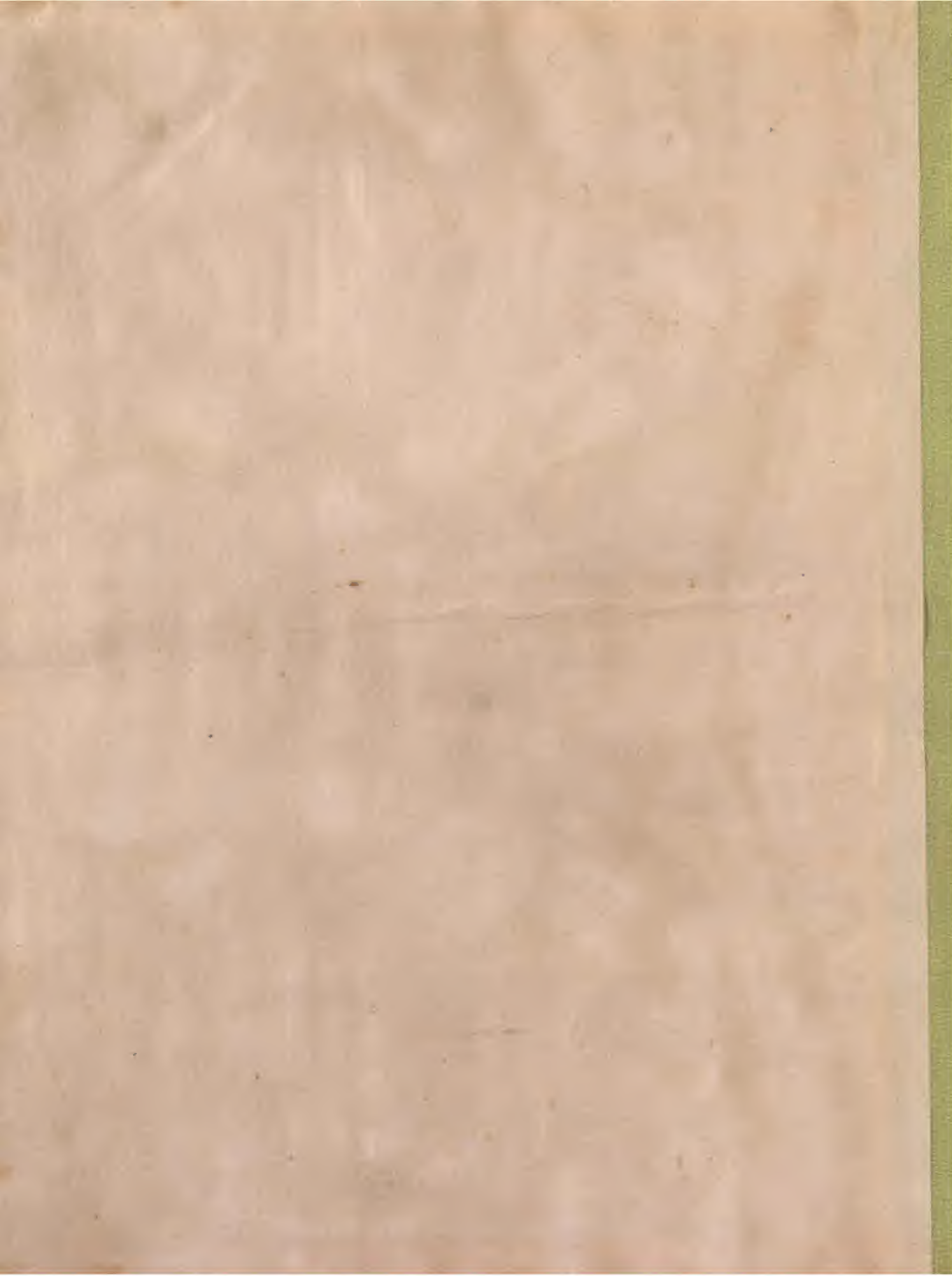
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